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THE COMMUNIST

A MARXIST MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO ADVANCEMENT OF DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT AND ACTION

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AMERICA'S ELECTIONS AND THE TEHERAN CONCORD

BY EARL BROWDER

ON November 7, 1944, Franklin D. Roosevelt was re-elected President of the United States for the fourth consecutive term. At the same time Congressional elections changed the composition of both House and Senate in the direction of strengthening support for the President's policies.

This simple news, flashed around the world in the early hours of November 8, brought joy to all peoples in all lands fighting for freedom and democracy. For this was victory in one of the greatest, most fateful, political struggles of history. It was America's confirmation of the Teheran Concord, established eleven months earlier, by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, the program for victory in the war and a durable, prosperous peace.

The outcome of this battle was determined through a complicated and bitter struggle, in which the camp of reaction, enemies of Teheran, threw in all their resources, and employed every political stratagem in the book. The reactionary camp was defeated by the aroused intelligence of the masses, by the unity brought about among the most advanced sectors of all classes in sup-

port of Roosevelt, and by the superb leadership of the President himself at the head of the camp of national unity.

The Strategy of the Hoover-Dewey Reactionary Camp

Plans of the reactionary camp for this campaign began to shape up immediately after the 1940 election. The strategy that gave coherence to all these plans had the following main points:

1. Secure command of the Republican Party as the main base of operations. For this purpose the main task was to eliminate Willkie; and for the elimination of Willkie it was necessary to put forth a candidate without a well-defined isolationist record. That is why Dewey became the front man for Hoover, Vandenberg, Taft & Co., the real power in the old Republican machine.

2. Penetrate the Democratic Party and either capture it for the reactionaries, in which case the election is won without a battle, no matter which candidate is elected; or disintegrate and split that party.

For this purpose Hoover and Company found a host of powerful agents at hand ready made: Jim Farley, for eight years the head of the Democratic National Committee, was ripe for treason to his party; the Garner-Dies-Byrd-Reynolds-O'Daniels sector of the Southern Democratic Party leadership, part of the anti-Roosevelt coalition in Congress with the Republicans, were ready for a coup to split the solid South away from the President; Governor Edison in New Jersey had made a coalition with the Republicans under the false banner of "reform," and was leading the "liberals" of the nation by the nose on this issue; and a hundred other footholds had been secured within the Democratic Party by Hoover and Co. In New York State, Jim Farley delivered the governorship to Dewey, by forcing his own handpicked reactionary candidate Bennett upon his party against the wishes of Roosevelt and of the labor movement. All in all, the Hoover camp figured on capturing or splitting the Democratic Party in 1944.

3. Keep the total national vote as low as possible by obstructing the ballot of the armed forces and hampering registration.

4. Divide and demoralize the labor movement, and thus prevent it from rallying to Roosevelt as in the past. To this end, the Republicans joined with their Democratic allies in Congress, in passing over the President's veto the Smith-Connally bill which places restrictions on labor political action, and encourages strikes; and then savagely attacking the labor movement and the ad-

ministration for the strikes that resulted. The Republicans took John L. Lewis under their protection, while blaming Roosevelt for the strikes Lewis instigated, not only among the miners but throughout industry. The Republicans gathered evidence of malpractices among A. F. of L. labor leaders, not in order to bring about reforms among them, but in order to blackmail them into coming out in support of the Republican candidate. They further stimulated by all means the jealousies and suspicions between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., and all other potential differences within labor.

5. Bring back the Negro people to their traditional allegiance to the Republicans. To this end an elaborate provocation was carried out: The Republicans supported the poll-tax Democrats of the South in blocking the repeal of the poll-tax, defeating the anti-lynching bill, and sabotaging the Fair Employment Practices Committee; then they turned around and adopted in their own Convention a beautiful platform in favor of these things they had helped to defeat. They blamed Roosevelt for all the grievances of the Negro people, which Roosevelt had been moving to remedy against the united opposition of his own reactionary colleagues and the Republicans. This exceedingly "clever" maneuver was depended upon to take the Negro vote away from the President.

6. Mobilize every discontent and grievance existing in the country, and combine them all into a movement against Roosevelt; promise everything to everybody, regardless

of how contradictory the promises may be; promise economy and greater spending, lower taxes and higher governmental income, the abolition of all government controls but the preservation of the results of control, the continuation of all Roosevelt's policies but the reversal of those policies at the same time; promise to continue the war to victory, but give the wink to all the anti-war forces and sentiments; speak for continuation of our war alliances, but insult our allies and gather up all the anti-ally sentiments; speak for post-war international collaboration but slyly inject policies which would make that impossible to realize; combine the *Chicago Tribune* with the *New York Herald Tribune*.

7. Finally, and keystone to the whole arch of Republican strategy, was the masterpiece of Hitlerite technique, the use of anti-Communism and anti-Semitism to split and splinter the nation, and thus dissolve all effective opposition to Republican seizure of power in the elections.

This is the main outline of the Hoover-Dewey strategy in entering the 1944 election campaign. If all these main attacks registered some results, it was assumed that the cumulative results would guarantee a reactionary victory. If any single one of them gained its maximum results, that alone would bring the reactionaries to power. If several of these attacks scored a breakthrough, then the result would be a landslide for reaction, and the dissolution of progressive power in the U.S. for a long time to come.

How the Hoover-Dewey Strategy Worked Out

As the whole world learned on November 8, to the joy of all progressive and democratic-minded people, the Hoover-Dewey strategy failed to gain its supreme goal, which was to assume power in the United States. The whole world does not realize as yet, however, how critical and close was the battle, how seriously the U.S. stood on the brink of a Nazi-like abyss of reactionary resurgence of power. It is therefore of more than ordinary importance to examine in some detail how the victory for democracy and progress was achieved.

The inter-play of forces on these various strategic fronts outlined above was very complicated, and any over-simplified analysis of the results would falsify the picture of reality. What the Hoover-Dewey attack gained on the swing on one front was usually offset by a lesser or greater loss from the contrary effects of the same factor on another front, and it was never able to bring these contradictions under control. With a warning against the distortions that accompany over-simplification, we may nevertheless venture a simple outline of the main features of this complicated struggle, admitting that many qualifications may be necessary which we have no space to deal with, and that there is room for many variations of judgment on particular questions.

Following the above-stated seven points of the Hoover-Dewey strategy, we get a picture of the battle something like this:

1. On the reactionary control of the Republican Party: This is the front on which superficially the Hoover-Dewey camp scored its greatest gain. It secured complete dominance of the Republican Party machinery, without which it had no base of operations, and completely shut Willkie and his friends out in the cold. But its technical victory was so complete that in the result this operated as a boomerang. For with the development of the fight on other fronts, this factor prepared the preconditions for the Willkie followers going over to Roosevelt in large numbers perhaps exceeding the margin of the Roosevelt majority of the popular vote, and thus played a major role in defeating its own aim. The Hoover-Dewey dominance was so complete that, as the issues of the campaign sharpened, it became obvious to the Willkie followers that they no longer had a place in the Republican Party for this campaign at least.

2. On the reactionary disruption within the Democratic Party: This ambitious scheme collapsed entirely in that phase which had aimed to reduce the electoral vote of the solid South for Roosevelt, and finally produced no result beyond reducing the volume of the President's popular majority. In fact the reactionary camp once more overreached itself, and brought about the defeat of some of their best Democratic allies in Congress, thereby greatly strengthening the President's position in the nation as a whole, and opening the way for fundamental improvements in the South. Farley's treason in New York State was

overcome, so that the President carried the State with a bigger majority than in 1940.

3. On the schemes to reduce the total vote: This was revealed in the Congressional debate on the soldiers' vote bill, when the President's opponents openly declared they would vote for the Federal soldiers' ballot only on condition Roosevelt would promise not to be a candidate. Later Dewey's supporters publicly speculated that a national vote of 40 millions would guarantee his election, a vote of 45 millions would leave the result in doubt, while anything much over 45 millions guaranteed the election of F.D.R. On the basis of this theory the Republican machine tried to keep down the registration by limiting the facilities, by keeping long lines waiting and forcing large numbers to return a second time after long waits, and so on. Also in New York they made spectacular legal investigations, serving subpoenas on first voters during the late hours of the night, announcing wholesale warrants of arrest for fraud, etc., all designed to scare away first voters from the polls. But the more the Republicans tried to keep down the vote, the more they stimulated the mass movement to bring out the vote. A nationwide drive for soldiers' balloting, and for general registration and voting, caught the public imagination and attained a volume never before seen in this country. Over the heads of all the old party machines the people took charge, and rolled up a total vote close to that of 1940, despite the fact that some 8 millions in the armed

services did not cast ballots. The Dewey speculative formula worked out, in the sense that the vote did go over 45 millions, and that Dewey did lose.

4. On the scheme to divide the labor movement: This hinged on the exploitation of the rivalry between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., by Republican demonstrations of warm sympathy for the former and sharp attacks against the latter; by solemn warnings to the A. F. of L. that a victory for Roosevelt would put the C.I.O. in a privileged position; by protection to John L. Lewis, promising him immunity for any and all kinds of strikes and disruptions of the war effort, striving thereby, with vast provocations by employers, to create a mass strike movement during the election period, etc. Huge efforts were made through corruption and intimidation to bring labor leaders into open support of Dewey and other reactionary candidates; venal labor papers were paid to publish Dewey's divisive propaganda. The daily press was literally full of it for weeks, screaming its message to the rank and file of the labor movement. But, while this scheme had some success among a few top leaders of the A. F. of L., so that among the Executive Council of that body only Daniel Tobin, and to a lesser extent Brown of the machinists, Flore of the food workers and Harrison of the railroad clerks, made a real campaign for the President, while the others remained shamefully silent and gave indirect aid to Dewey, it was quite different among the millions of members and most of the lower leaders; far from

dividing the A. F. of L. from the C.I.O., the Dewey campaign as it developed brought an unexampled unity between the two great divisions of the labor movement; their rivalry became transformed into a struggle to see which could do the most for the re-election of President Roosevelt. And aside from the role of the top leadership, where the difference was almost as day from night, it would be difficult to say whether A. F. of L. or C.I.O. really contributed the most votes to Roosevelt's majority, so completely were the masses of membership united in that common cause. To climax this sweep of labor for the President, the mine workers disregarded the advice of John L. Lewis and voted for F.D.R. almost as unanimously as in previous elections. The labor movement demonstrated its political maturity. The Hoover-Dewey strategy toward labor was a flop.

5. On the plan to swing the Negro vote: For a few weeks after the national party conventions, it looked as though the Hoover-Dewey strategy had registered deeply. But as the campaign developed the realities broke through the demagoguery, and the Negro voters came through their period of hesitation and swung overwhelmingly to Roosevelt on election day. The turning point came with the Philadelphia traction upheaval, in which Republicans had incited a "strike" to drive Negroes out of employment, and which the Roosevelt Administration promptly suppressed with a strong hand, upholding the authority of the Fair Employment Practices Committee without hesitation. The Transport

Workers Union leadership played the key role in smashing this provocation, and thereby also consolidated its authority among the very workers who had been misled into following the Republican provocation, and who were thoroughly ashamed of themselves when they realized how they had been victimized. The Negro voters rejected the G.O.P. demagoguery in overwhelming majority, and went with the organized labor movement for Roosevelt.

6. The double-talk scheme of Dewey: Perhaps the modern radio should be given some of the credit for the breakdown of Dewey's little scheme for working both sides of the street and gathering support from both sides of every controversial question. At any rate, the fact that Dewey was talking out of both sides of his mouth soon became so widely recognized that hard-boiled Republicans were blushing for him. There were large backward masses who were influenced toward Dewey by his special appeals, there is no doubt; but it is equally certain that this was approximately offset by the numbers of intelligent men who were driven away from Dewey by his cynical demagoguery, and who were inevitably attracted by the dignified and serious level of Roosevelt's dealing with the campaign issues. On this front also the Hoover-Dewey strategy went on the rocks.

7. The anti-Communist and anti-Semitic incitements: It was in this phase of the Hoover-Dewey strategy that its full Hitlerite inspiration and purpose was revealed most fully. Never outside of Nazi Germany has anything like it been witnessed in

modern political life. An unprecedented flood of political poison was loosed upon the country. It would be blindness to underestimate the damage to America's social and political life, not only in influencing voters in the election, but in poisoning social and political relations after the election is over. This phase of the Dewey campaign was most damaging because it was only half met and half answered for the great majority of the country. It was not clearly branded with its real character, as a reversion to barbarism, as a renunciation of all civilized culture, as the negation of human reason, but was merely dealt with as an example of the "gigantic lie." The basic assumption of this gigantic lie, that Communists and Jews are somehow outside the pale of American national life, was not met head-on and challenged, except by the Communists. The democratic camp contented itself with refusing to join in this huge lie, and in declaring that "the danger is being grossly exaggerated." Inside the democratic camp, groups were tolerated and given respected positions who not only joined fully in the gigantic lie, but who had originated the special form in which the lie was put forward by the Hoover-Dewey camp; it was David Dubinsky and his clique who had coined the slogan about a "Hillman-Browder Communist conspiracy against America," and presented it ready made for Dewey's use, whether with or without fee is not known. So badly armed is American democracy against this poison that responsible leaders were still willing publicly to

associate with Dubinsky at the end of the campaign when he was mouthing the same main slogans as Dewey, while still unwilling or unable to acknowledge that American Communists have won their citizenship by their devoted services in our nation's greatest common effort. Such is the still remaining potency of this, the chief of Hitler's political poisons.

The effects of Dewey's anti-Communist and anti-Semitic campaign were mixed and very complicated. There can be no doubt it failed in its first aim, which was to rally propertied, business and financial circles into a fanatical drive to elect Dewey at all costs, although it may have had effect in slowing and limiting the shift of such circles to open support of Roosevelt; when the *New York Times* and Walter Lippmann, two of the most conservative and responsible spokesmen of the propertied classes, came out against Dewey in the last phase of the campaign, this was registration of the failure of the first aim of the Red-scare. It failed even more completely in its second aim of splitting the labor movement, despite Dubinsky's frantic efforts to assist; never before had a great national Red-scare effort found so little response within organized labor.

Where the anti-Communist and anti-Semitic campaign scored heavily, however, was in the small towns and rural areas, among the less thoroughly informed and less politically alert sections of the population. Here Dewey more than made up for his numerical losses of support among the Willkie Republicans

who were nauseated by his Red-scare, who remembered Willkie's dramatic appearances before the Supreme Court to argue the case in behalf of William Schneiderman, the California Communist leader, and to win the decision establishing the right to citizenship of Communists, and who remembered Willkie's fearless call for China's unity to include the Communists. In the small towns and rural areas they have learned little or nothing of such modern political developments in America and the world, and when a great political party they had long respected even when they had not voted for it frantically shouted in their ears that a foreign conspiracy was seizing control of America, there is not the slightest doubt that millions were influenced by it. There is reason to believe that while Dewey weakened himself in the cities and among all intelligent and informed people by his irresponsible use of anti-Communism and anti-Semitism, he more than compensated himself in the number of votes even though not in the quality of his support, in the small towns, rural areas, and among the less informed voters generally.

It is certainly not a pleasure for me to regard the judgment that Dewey made some profit in votes out of the Red-scare. I would be much happier if I could honestly declare that his crime did not pay substantially among any large part of the population or in any form. But this issue is too threatening of future troubles for our country and the world to justify any wishful thinking or complacency in regard

to the realities. The harsh truth is that a considerable part of America can be influenced by unprincipled political leadership which appeals to fear and hatred of Communists and Jews, by precisely the chief means whereby Hitler rose to power in Germany.

A tremendous task of mass political education is required by this fact, before our country can be considered immune to Hitlerism.

International Consequences of American Elections

The re-election of Roosevelt, with a Congress purged of many of the worst isolationists and reactionaries, is having and will continue to have profound repercussions throughout the world.

It is an American national referendum confirming the Teheran Concord, the world leadership given by Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt. It makes possible a new meeting of the "Big Three" further to extend and build on the foundations of Teheran.

It gives American support to the movement for national unity in the liberated countries of Europe, extending from Catholics to Communists, and the beginning of an orderly and peaceful reconstruction of their life upon new foundations.

It is the stamp of approval upon the counsel Roosevelt has been giving to China, to unite against the Japanese common enemy, to settle inner conflicts and throw all forces into the war, to take boldly the path of democracy, to rehabilitate Chi-

nese economy and put checks upon the speculators, usurers, and landlords who are now sucking the blood of the nation.

It opens the way for the Soviet Union eventually to join in the common task of the creation of a peaceful and progressing Asia, as the larger half of a peaceful and progressing world.

It consolidates the preconditions, established at Teheran, for the world to begin to face and work out peaceful paths toward the liberation of the colonial world from its bondage, and the inclusion of those areas within the domain of democracy and increasing well-being.

It hastens the final crushing of the Hitlerite beast in his lair and the defeat of the Japanese bandit regime, and the return of the whole world to the ways of peace.

It clears the way to a new era of full employment and expanding economic well-being, to be extended systematically to more and more of the world, through the united leadership of Britain, the Soviet Union, and America in an organized world family of nations.

Only in such a world can America solve her domestic problems and find the road to inner peace and prosperity.

We have turned the corner on the historic path to that bright future. What Stalingrad was to the Soviet Union, the definite turning of the tide against fascism, so was the November 7th election for the United States.

THE ELECTIONS AND THE NEW CONGRESS

BY ADAM LAPIN

IT was a common assumption of newspaper and radio commentators during the election campaign that the Republicans would make substantial gains in both House and Senate even if President Roosevelt were re-elected. The G.O.P. and its journalistic friends took it for granted that there was an irresistible Republican trend which had been underscored in previous elections, particularly in the 1942 Congressional elections when the Republicans picked up 47 House seats. They argued that the President's election would be a personal triumph, that even if the voters were reluctant to change Presidents in the middle of a great war they would not follow through in the election of a Congress. Indeed, one of Governor Dewey's major campaign arguments was that he should be elected to cooperate with a Republican Congress.

Well, the people reversed the G.O.P.'s campaign logic. They did not elect a President who would work with a presumably Republican Congress. They elected a Congress which will cooperate far more closely with the President. The Congressional returns illuminate the

real meaning of the 1944 elections, and make it clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that the election represented fundamentally an endorsement of the President's policies on winning the war and the peace.

* * *

Even a tentative preliminary analysis of the Congressional elections makes it possible to draw five obvious conclusions:

First, the people showed unprecedented political maturity and understanding. It was on this point that the Republican strategists miscalculated. They did not think the people would know how to follow up after voting for the President.

Second, the Congressional elections were a sweeping repudiation of Senators and Congressmen who have opposed the President's foreign policy, who have sniped at our government's policy of collaboration with the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

Third, rejection of Senators and Congressmen most prominently known as isolationists (actually many of them are flagrant imperialists) was accomplished by voters of both parties in all sections

of the country, of all classes in the population, by an improvised coalition of forces which has great significance for the future.

Fourth, the labor movement played a major role in this coalition. Both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. (despite the negative role of most of the members of the A. F. of L. Executive Council) were important factors in assuring the President of a Congress which would support his policies.

Fifth, the performance of the 79th Congress will depend on whether the loose election coalition can be consolidated and can continue to function after the elections, on whether there is unity among the groups supporting the President on a broad legislative program on foreign and domestic policy.

In the 78th Congress the Democrats had a 13-vote lead over the Republicans in the House, 222 to 209. Death and by-elections contributed to whittling this down to two seats before the end of the session. In the new House, the Democrats will have a lead of at least 48 votes; at this writing a few seats are still in doubt. In the Senate the Republicans failed completely to improve their position at the short end of a 57 to 38 relationship.

But the Congressional elections were not determined primarily on the basis of party affiliations, and the statistics of party line-ups fail to tell the full story of what has happened. The change has been qualitative. There has been a major improvement in the make-up of the 79th Congress in comparison with its immediate predecessor.

Leading Republican opponents of Administration foreign policy, such as Senators Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, James Davis of Pennsylvania, John Danaher of Connecticut, and Reps. Hamilton Fish of New York, Melvin J. Maas of Minnesota and Stephen A. Day of Illinois were defeated. The revulsion against these latter-day Munichmen was much stronger than had been expected by even the most optimistic observers. The Roosevelt forces in Ohio did not dream that they could come within 20,000 votes of defeating Senator Robert A. Taft, who will undoubtedly be the leader of the opposition to the Administration's policy of international collaboration. If there had been a better understanding of the groundswell of public opinion against the men who stand in the path of unity with our Allies, it is entirely possible that Taft could have been defeated.

This popular repudiation of the "isolationists" has been a non-partisan affair. The Democratic voters took care of men like Senators Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri, D. Worth Clark of Idaho and "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina in the primaries. Senator Robert Rice Reynolds of North Carolina, now chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, found it expedient to retire. Republican voters disposed of Senator Rufus Holman in the Oregon primary. Thousands of Illinois Republicans participated actively in removing Representative-at-large Stephen A. Day, whose sympathies with Hitlerism were notorious; Emily Taft Douglas who ran

against Day even outstripped the President's majority. There were committees of prominent Republicans in Illinois for Mrs. Douglas and Senator Scott Lucas who defeated Richard Lyons, universally dubbed as a mouthpiece for the *Chicago Tribune*.

The criss-crossing of party lines was seen in Connecticut where Senator Danaher, a clever and resourceful obstructionist, was defeated but where Governor Baldwin, a Republican whose stand on foreign policy was generally believed to be more constructive, was re-elected. In Massachusetts the voters supported President Roosevelt and Mayor Maurice Tobin of Boston for Governor—but elected to the Senate on the G.O.P. ticket Governor Leverett Saltonstall who is considered a supporter of the President's foreign policy. In Oregon, which also went for F.D.R., many Democrats must have voted for Wayne Morse for Senator; Morse, who had the endorsement of the C.I.O. Political Action Committee, defeated Senator Holman in the Republican primary.

It is inevitable that the verdict of the people will strengthen the President's hand when he asks for legislation to implement his foreign policy, to approve plans for an international security organization mapped at Dumbarton Oaks and for international economic cooperation as developed at Bretton Woods. For example, there have been eliminated from the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee four men who would have stood firm against the President's foreign pol-

icy: Reynolds and Clark of Missouri in the Democratic primaries, and Nye and Davis in the elections.

An interesting by-product of the elections and the primaries is that practically the entire personnel of the Dies Committee has been removed from the House. Reps. Joe Starnes of Alabama and John Costello of California were beaten in the primaries; Rep. Martin Dies decided to quit. Rep. Fred Busbey of Illinois was eliminated in the election. Without over-stating the case, this does add up to a significant repudiation of Congressmen who made anti-Communism their principal stock in trade.

It is not only that the all too familiar faces of some of the bitter-end foes of the Teheran program will be missing in the 79th Congress. There have been important positive changes for the better. Administration stalwarts like Lucas, Robert F. Wagner of New York, who was confronted with a particularly vicious campaign, and Elbert Thomas of Utah were re-elected. Reps. Francis Myers of Pennsylvania and Warren Magnuson of Washington should help strengthen Administration forces. In the House outstanding progressives like Reps. Vito Marcantonio and John Coffee have been returned. Among the new progressives will be former Lieutenant Governor Ellis Patterson of California and Hugh De Lacey of Washington. For the first time in more than fifty years there will be two Negro Congressmen, Rep. William L. Dawson and the newcomer, Rev. Adam Clayton Powell of New York.

Reps. Clare Luce of Connecticut and Jessie Sumner of Illinois, both unfortunately re-elected, will no longer have a virtual monopoly as alleged spokesmen for the nation's women in the House. In addition to Rep. Mary Norton of New Jersey who has long been a staunch Administration supporter, there will be three other outstanding women in the House, Emily Taft Douglas, Helen Gahagan Douglas of California and Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, a professor of political economy at Connecticut College, New London.

It is not only that new Democratic Congressmen have been elected. In practically every case they can be counted on to go down the line for the President's entire program. This is largely because their election came as no accident. They won because the President brought out the voters to the polls—and because they received organized support from labor and the people. There is no possible debate about the kind of mandate they received.

The new seats were won primarily in large cities like Chicago and Philadelphia or in smaller industrial towns like Akron, Dayton, East St. Louis. And the evidence is clear that labor played a particularly impressive role in strengthening the Administration contingent in the House. It was one of the signal contributions of the C.I.O. Political Action Committee that it focused attention of the workers on the problem of electing a progressive, forward-looking Congress, that it was responsible for serious po-

litical education among millions of people on the issues before Congress and on the records of Congressmen and Senators.

Where Republican incumbents were unseated, it was invariably as a result of teamwork between various groups in the population and particularly between the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. But there is no doubt that the Congressional elections were a stinging repudiation of many endorsements made by A. F. of L. President William Green, who yielded in this respect to the diehard Republicans in the Executive Council and by some railroad union leaders: Nye, Busbey, Fish, Day and other defeatists were able to claim endorsements from Green or from the railroad unions. It didn't help them much. Unlike some members of the Executive Council, A. F. of L. workers showed that they do not judge members of Congress on the basis of a narrow selection of "labor issues" but are concerned with all the big problems of the day, including foreign policy. Green said after the elections that he was pleased to see the defeat of isolationists at the polls. Maybe he was, but he certainly didn't do much to bring it about.

* * *

There should be a real change in the 79th Congress. There will be a difference in personnel. And there should be an even more important difference in political atmosphere. The people have spoken so clearly that many middle-of-the-road Democrats with inconsistent or indifferent

voting records may now swing back into line.

This does not mean that the new Congress will be free of major legislative conflicts or that everything will be smooth sailing from now on. Far from it. Some of the cleverest and ablest opponents of Administration policy, like Senators Taft and Vandenberg will still be around when the new session meets. The Republicans will be strongly represented in both House and Senate. There will be those among them who will be for making a fight against the Administration on every basic aspect of domestic and foreign policy.

One of the real problems in the new Congress will be the effort, already apparent in a number of editorials and in the columns of Mark Sullivan, to say that the people have given the President a mandate on foreign policy but not on domestic policy. Some writers are gleefully rubbing their hands in anticipation of renewed battles against the President on domestic policy. Just how this separation is accomplished is a bit of a mystery. Most of the Republicans repudiated at the polls fought the President both on domestic and foreign policy. And certainly the two phases of Administration policy are closely related.

The President's objective of 60,000,000 jobs cannot be achieved without a stable post-war world, without international cooperation and extensive foreign trade. The President himself made this amply clear in his Chicago speech. By the same token, disunity at home on basic issues, bitter conflict in Con-

gress will help neither the war effort nor international collaboration.

What we can be sure of is that there will be an effort in the 79th Congress to form a new anti-Administration coalition, to form a new anti-Roosevelt majority of Republicans and Southern Democrats. This will not be impossible, but it will be much more difficult than in the past.

In the last six months there was already evident a major cleavage among Southern Democrats; the Republicans could no longer count on lining up all or even most of the Southern Democrats. On issues such as soldier voting and subsidies, the Southern Democrats in the House divided about equally between those who went along with the Administration and those who joined with the Republicans. In the primaries, Administration leaders like Senators Lister Hill of Alabama and Claude Pepper of Florida won their fights for renomination, and men like Dies and Starnes and "Cotton Ed" Smith went down to defeat. The Electoral College plot against Roosevelt fizzled. The Administration has won complete control over the Democratic Party of Texas, and the so-called Texas regulars made a pitiful showing in the election when they put up their own slate of electors. Dewey did not increase his vote in the South over Wendell Willkie's 1940 showing. Add all these factors to the generally improved political climate resulting from the President's election victory, and the answer should be a more substantial number of Southern Congressmen and Senators in the Administration camp.

The most effective guarantee for preventing the formation of a successful anti-Roosevelt coalition will be the continued existence and functioning of the as yet loosely knit coalition which took shape in the election campaign. If the Republicans, independent voters, Democrats, trade unionists and others who voted for the President and for a Congress to back him up continue to show unity on foreign policy, there will be little doubt about the outcome of a Congressional debate on that vital issue.

On domestic policy and particularly on reconversion there is need for a legislative program based on the broadest unity between labor, the Administration, the farmers, and substantial sections of business, middle class, and professional groups. It is a fact that labor became unnecessarily isolated during the battle on the Kilgore reconversion bill. There was not a sufficiently sustained effort in the labor movement to find a basis of understanding with other groups.

Nor was there sufficient cooperation between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. This was one of the major obstacles blocking more effective leg-

islative action during the 78th Congress. The lack of unity in the labor movement on legislative issues was due partly to the petty vendetta against the C.I.O. which still takes precedence in the minds of some A. F. of L. leaders, by a refusal to identify themselves with the Administration—to some of the same attitudes that led to endorsements of men like Nye and Day. The election returns should strengthen the position of the wholesome and constructive forces in the A. F. of L. led by Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters. Increased unity between the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. would in turn be a powerful influence for a broader alliance around the Administration's legislative program.

It was unity of diverse forces that did the trick of Nov. 7. This unity will have to be the keynote of the legislative efforts of the people during the months ahead. If there is unity, the mandate given the President by the people will be carried out by Congress, and the 79th Congress will be able to measure up to the enormous tasks of dealing with the peace of the world and the shape of post-war America.

THE STRATEGY OF "MERCY"*

BY A. TRAININ

THE nearer and more inescapable the defeat of Hitler Germany becomes, and with it retribution for the atrocities perpetrated by the Hitlerites, the more frequently are unctuous voices raised, pleading mercy for the butchers. The poisoned and asphyxiated victims of the Germans are still writhing in their agony; the earth is still heaving over the unfortunates buried alive; mankind still stands appalled at the awful fate of the innocents of Maidanek; yet the obliging commiserators of the miscreants are abundantly shedding well-paid tears, striving to avert the threatening retribution, and whining that the butchers are being treated hard.

Some of these appeasers of butchers and advocates of mercy are supposedly not opposed to the criminals being tried—they are only, so to speak, arguing which is the proper court to try them. Some—religious appeasers—plead that it should be left to the court of God; others—temporal appeasers—would leave it to the court of history. And both are appaled only by the inevitable reality and growing proximity of the mundane court of man.

Unfortunately, these efforts to

lighten the blow of justice have found a certain "basis" in a statement made recently at a press conference in London by Sir Cecil Hurst, Chairman of the United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes.

Sir Cecil Hurst spoke as a jurist, and his words naturally breathed the spirit of legality. But his legality is of a rather dubious quality: in the majestic temple of justice which he erects, he provides extensive bomb-shelters, dugouts and trenches into which the indicted criminals may creep to escape the hand of justice.

Hurst, the British Ministry of Information reports, was asked whether Hitler had been included in the list of war criminals. We do not know who put the question—nor his age or intellectual capacities—but at any rate his inquisitiveness, for its innocent candor, is touching.

Everyone knows that Hitler, the head and fount of militarized banditry, has included himself in the list of war criminals by his heinous war crimes. All the more surprising is the reply: Sir Cecil Hurst said that he was obliged to refrain from answering questions concerning individual war criminals. By this reply Hurst demoted the chief-

* From *War and the Working Class*, Moscow, No. 19, 1944.

tain of the band of international criminals to the rank of an ordinary bandit by classing him among the "individual war criminals." Moreover, Sir Cecil Hurst, to do him justice, made no secret of the motives for his enforced silence: if he were to give the names of the persons liable to trial, he explained, it would afford them the opportunity to escape and hide from justice.

It appears, therefore, that to speak of the culpability of Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels and their ilk is to divulge a profound state and, perhaps, even an international secret, and might be attended by grave complications. Upon hearing, in the sixth year of their crimes, that they were being looked upon as criminals, Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels and the rest might run away and hide from justice. Sir Cecil Hurst was accordingly forced by the circumstances of the case to keep silent in order that justice might triumph.

However, Sir Cecil Hurst did not faithfully adhere to his vow of silence. He found it possible to reveal something about the possible fate of two of the "individual war criminals"—Hitler and Mussolini. He said that their fate would be decided by the United Nations, a statement which is indisputable.

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The Declaration of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, published in Moscow on November 2, 1943, stated that "the major criminals will be punished by a joint decision of the Governments of the Allies." It would seem then that in the case of Hitler and Mussolini there is no

need to run ahead and hazard one's own guesses as to the future decision of the Governments of the United Nations.

Sir Cecil Hurst thought otherwise. Restrained, reserved, fearing publicly to include Hitler and his accomplices in the list of war criminals, he nevertheless revealed on this subject unexpected loquacity. "The United Nations," he said, "might decide to bring them [Hitler and Mussolini] to trial or to deal with them as Napoleon was dealt with." Only just now when he was talking of trials he demoted Hitler to the ranks; now when it comes to the question of punishment, he promotes him to the rank of Napoleon. More, it appears that there are a couple of these Napoleons. Accordingly, the decision of the Governments of the United Nations, in Hurst's opinion, might be to seek out a suitable place of residence on islands for the two friends, perhaps the Isle of Elba for Mussolini and (more strictly!) Saint Helena for Hitler. . . .

Having thus outlined the decision as to the fate of the major criminals, Sir Cecil Hurst is now able easily and without any mental effort to decide the fate of all other war criminals. And it must be frankly stated that here the passion for "legality," a "cautious" investigation and lenience toward the war criminals comes perilously near to deliberately allowing many thousands of Nazi miscreants to go unpunished.

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Hurst deemed it necessary to state

that "there were many misconceptions and misunderstandings on the subject of war crimes." One would think, quite to the contrary, that there were countless numbers of definitely established war crimes and numerous names of culprits of these crimes. Of course, a careful investigation and a well-founded verdict are essential if justice is really to triumph over evil. But this is precisely what the procedure of the investigation outlined by Hurst does not provide for; on the contrary it promises a rich harvest of "misunderstandings and misconceptions."

Sir Cecil Hurst says (Note: All quotations from the English in this article have been re-translated from the Russian): "The investigation must, in the first place, be carried out by the various Governments and not by the Commission. The procedure is as follows: The authoritative bodies of each Government submit to the Commission the cases of war crimes of the culprits which, in their opinion, merit punishment, as well as the evidence on which the charge is based. The Commission submits cases to the Investigation Committee, which examines, in the first place, three questions: Firstly, whether the commission of a war crime or war crimes is borne out by the evidence; secondly, whether there is sufficient evidence to establish the identity of the criminal; thirdly, whether this is his only crime."

This scheme cannot be denied a certain harmoniousness. It reads easily and can be grasped without difficulty. Authoritative bodies in-

vestigate, investigation committees examine, and the Commission decides. But one essential thing remains unclear: Does this scheme really guarantee the trial and punishment of war criminals?

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Very disputable, in the first place, is the fundamental principle. According to Hurst, the right to hand over war prisoners belongs to the Commission of the United Nations. The question naturally arises: Why should the Governments which have the right to demand the handing over of criminals, lose that right in the case of grave offenders? It may be that, on the contrary, the decisions which will be adopted at the end of the war will specially provide that it is the duty of all countries to hand over war criminals upon the motivated demand of the countries which have suffered from their acts. This question is all the more appropriate as certain parts of Hurst's scheme for the investigation and handing over of criminals resemble less a road to justice than barbed-wire obstacles to the punishment of the offenders.

According to Hurst's scheme, before the United Nations Commission can decide to hand over the criminals it must decide whether the criminal "is guilty of only one crime." The question of recidivism thus acquires extreme importance, according to him. The advocates of leniency toward criminals eagerly cite the law on this subject. But we should like to hear where, in what international conventions or declarations of the United Nations

Governments, was recidivism made a condition for the punishment of war criminals.

Further, if some Nazi miscreants only once threw children into a fire or asphyxiated civilians in murder wagons, does the demand that they should be handed over lose its validity?

Hurst is not content with this. He goes further: "Not all war criminals can be considered equally culpable. . . . Some of them may have committed ordinary crimes. We must limit ourselves to persons who are really responsible for major atrocities." Preparations are only being made to try war criminals, yet "limitations" are already recommended, and answerability only for "major atrocities" is set up as a corrective criterion.

What atrocities then deserve to be called major—Smolensk, Kiev, Lublin? Are whole villages together with their inhabitants undeserving of the attention of justice?

Sir Cecil Hurst is not worried by such questions. He is in a hurry to introduce further limitations on the answerability for war crimes. He deems it necessary to exclude from the category of war criminals all quislings and persons guilty of wholesale extermination of their citizens on racial, political or religious grounds.

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Acquaintance with Sir Cecil Hurst's arguments involuntarily leads to the presumption that if limitations on the investigation of war criminals were to develop on the scale he indicates, capitulation

of justice to war criminals would follow very soon after the capitulation of Germany to the Allies.

It should be borne in mind that the turning over of war criminals, in which the will of all peoples to eradicate Hitlerism should be and will be expressed, is conceived by Hurst as something in the nature of an act of international courtesy. He says: "If the United Nations find that existing treaties providing for the handing over of war criminals do not meet the case, new measures will be adopted. . . . However, a neutral state is a neutral state, and there are bounds which even all the United Nations together cannot transgress in their attitude toward neutrals."

The Declaration of Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill quite clearly stated that the war criminals would be pursued by the three Allied powers to the uttermost ends of the earth. Yet the Chairman of the United Nations Investigation Commission, despite the Declaration of the Allied powers, despite the great historical changes of our era, and despite the new relations among states in combating international crime, consoles the criminals and "neutrals" with the assurance that even all the United Nations together "cannot always secure the delivery of war criminals."

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The situation is complicated by the fact that Hurst is not alone in his strange concept of the answerability and non-answerability of war criminals. It has been stated in the foreign press that on the

United Nations Commission there are other advocates of justice with brakes on, of justice which would be sympathetic to the bandits and indifferent to their victims. Not burdened by the responsible position of their Chairman, these members of the Commission display absolutely unbridled recklessness in devising methods of saving the Hitlerites from answerability.

The newspaper *PM* states that experts insist that Hitler is to be regarded as the head of a state, the Nazi gangsters as a government and the Gestapo as a state police.

According to this legal algebra, one bandit is a bandit, two bandits are bandits, but a whole gang of bandits who employ the machinery of government for rapine and murder are merely "state police." The newspaper considers that the source of these arguments is excessive devotion to jurisprudence on the part of members of the Commission whose noses, it says, are buried in legal tracts.

This is a libel on jurisprudence. Since when and under what laws is a bandit who dons the uniform of a police official immune from criminal prosecution? All this so-called jurisprudence is a poorly con-

cealed attempt to protect the war criminals from the law, from justice and from punishment.

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And so we find mingled in one chorus the unctuous sermons of the opponents of trial for the criminals, and the voices of certain official guardians of justice.

The strategy of "mercy" is not a problem of ethics, nor even a problem of trial and punishment; it is essentially a problem of war policy. The strategy of "mercy" is only one of the links in the campaign for a lenient peace launched by the Hitlerites and certain circles which support them. Accordingly, a plea for mercy to the butchers is a plea for a compromise peace, a plea to leave in Germany the hotbed of future wars and future atrocities.

The united efforts of the freedom-loving nations have foiled all of Germany's maneuvers and artifices of strategy: blitzkrieg strategy, protracted war, and the strategy of dividing the Allies. This inspires us with confidence that the last card of defeated Germany will also be beaten—namely, the strategy of "mercy" which is directed against peace and mankind.

BRETTON WOODS AND WORLD SECURITY

BY JAMES S. ALLEN

THE November elections have demonstrated the overwhelming popular support for American participation in a world security organization along the lines of the Dumbarton Oaks plan. The opponents of Roosevelt will find it most difficult to evade the will of the people on this matter. Obviously, a bitter struggle still looms ahead against the obstructionist, pro-fascist and America First forces before an effective world security organization becomes a reality. But it is clear that the November verdict has placed the Administration and the people in an especially favorable position to achieve success.

Unfortunately, things are not quite so clear with respect to the Bretton Woods proposals for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank. On the main principles of the Dumbarton Oaks plan one finds essential agreement among practically all elements outside isolationist and defeatist circles. This is not the case on Bretton Woods. The *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*, for example, support Dumbarton Oaks but oppose the proposals of Bretton Woods.

Senator Taft, at least, has the virtue of consistency. He is opposed

to any cooperation with other nations, whether it be in the political or economic sphere. It is more difficult to understand a position which favors cooperation for world security but opposes a cooperative approach to some of the most pressing world economic problems.

We get to the heart of this opposition when we seek to define the central achievement of the Bretton Woods conference. As far as American policy is concerned, the central issue presented by Bretton Woods is whether the United States shall adopt an isolationist or cooperative policy with respect to world economic relations.

By the term isolation, of course, is meant a policy and not a status in fact. For it is nonsense to imagine that a country emerging from the war as the most powerful in the world can remain aloof either economically or politically. The real issue is what form our participation in world affairs shall take. Political isolationism is a policy of imperialist aggression. Economic isolationism is a policy of economic warfare against the rest of the world.

Isolationism, whether of the political or economic variety, would make impossible full employment

and a high standard of living at home. To achieve the goal of 60,000,000 jobs set by President Roosevelt it will be necessary to have an expanding world economy which will be able to absorb huge American and British exports. Economists estimate that should U. S. post-war export trade increase by five million dollars over pre-war trade, this alone would account for five million additional jobs. And this is a very conservative estimate of the possibilities of the post-war foreign market. But expanding markets cannot be obtained to any lasting degree under world conditions in which sharp rivalries, as between Britain and the United States, will run rampant and constantly endanger peace. Nor can there be prospects of expansion without the guarantee of a long period of world security, assured in the first place by Anglo-Soviet-American understanding and the encouragement of democratic development throughout the world.

World security could not long be maintained if a country as powerful as ours were to embark upon a course of cut-throat economic warfare against all competitors as soon as the war is over. That is why Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods are so closely related. We cannot expect to maintain peace for any length of time if there is not undertaken, simultaneously with the setting up of an effective security organization, such measures as will tend to subordinate existing differences and economic conflicts to the common need for expanding world markets and full employment at

home. And, conversely, there would be little hope for restraining the sharp economic rivalries of Britain and the United States in the post-war world and attaining an economy of abundance at home without agreement between Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States on joint action to maintain peace.

Thus, the most favorable omen for Bretton Woods is the high degree of cooperation already attained by the Big Three in the course of the war and their progress in reaching agreement on post-war collaboration against aggression. The Dumbarton Oaks conference supplied the Bretton Woods proposals with the necessary foundation and a favorable atmosphere for their success.

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What are the main contributions of Bretton Woods?

The first project is for an International Monetary Fund of about eight and three-quarter billion dollars. Each of the United Nations is to subscribe an amount (not exceeding 25 per cent in gold and the remainder in their national currencies) roughly equivalent to their relative position in expected post-war trade. Thus, the United States would be the largest subscriber, with a quota of \$2,750,000,000; while Britain and the Soviet Union would be close seconds, with \$1,300,000,000 and \$1,200,000,000, respectively. Each member nation is to have voting power in direct ratio to the amount of its subscription.

The main function of the fund would be to enable each member to buy the currencies of the other members through a world governmental organization, which will attempt to maintain stable money rates and make available to its members such foreign currencies, within certain agreed limits, as they may need to pay for increased imports.

In practice, this means that at least for the immediate post-war years short-term loans, largely in American dollars, will be made available to the United Nations to finance their purchase of commodities for the most part from the United States.

The long-range purpose of the Fund is to stimulate world trade, while eliminating such restrictions on trade as currency depreciation, bilateral pacts, barter, and other devices used by competitor nations to obtain exclusive trade advantages. It seeks to help in the expansion of world markets, recognizing the prime role to be played by American production and capital, but at the same time establishing the means for the cooperative determination of terms upon which American goods and services are to be accepted.

By itself, the Fund does not solve basic problems of world economy, nor does it remove the prime causes of economic instability. It will help the countries weakened and devastated by the war along the road to recovery, but even here main reliance upon outside aid will have to be placed in the immediate future upon direct grants and relief, and upon reparations in materials and

labor from the defeated enemy countries.

Nevertheless, the Fund is a new departure in economic policy, evolved to meet a situation in which the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union will contribute to the stabilization of world economic relations.

Its main significance is that American adherence to the Fund would mean the initiation of a post-war economic policy on the part of the United States looking toward the adjustment of differences with Great Britain and simultaneously towards cooperation with the Soviet Union on such measures as will aid world economic recovery.

The test is for the United States more than for any other country. Britain, considerably weakened by the war, does not need much convincing on this score. Her main concern is to preserve what she has against the encroachment of a powerful competitor, and she hopes to do this successfully through agreement, compromise and accommodation. Other capitalist countries have suffered even more severely, and for a long time to come they will need as much foreign aid as they can possibly obtain, while preserving their national freedom and completing their anti-fascist struggle.

On the conclusion of the war the United States will be in a position to become manufacturer and banker to the world. This is a fact which cannot be altered by any international agreement. What can be determined, however, is on what terms the rest of the world will accept

American products and capital. And the United States is in no position to dictate these terms, unless we are willing to see the rest of the world banded against us.

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The real issue involved is revealed by the alternative policy advocated by the opponents of the Fund. In urging Congress to reject the Bretton Woods proposal, Senator Taft offered the following policy:

"The proper course would seem to be to reach some agreement with the British regarding the relation of the dollar and the pound and then take up the other countries, one by one, and attempt to assist them by direct credits, if necessary, until their foreign exchange can be stabilized without loss." (*New York Times*, July 12, 1944.)

A similar policy is advocated by a stubborn group of anti-Roosevelt bankers, who lobbied energetically against the Administration program at Bretton Woods. Their most recent spokesman is Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank, who led the fight against the Stabilization Fund at the International Business Conference which just concluded its sessions at Rye, N. Y. He calls his policy the "key nation" approach "as opposed to the global approach of the Bretton Woods plan." He is more specific than Senator Taft in itemizing the price which Britain would have to pay for the honor of sharing key nationhood with the United States. Britain's war debt would

have to be settled, including the amount due on lend-lease obligations, and trade barriers would have to be reduced between the British Empire and the United States. As further bait Aldrich offers Britain a "grant in aid" of \$3,000,000,000 to meet her immediate post-war needs—a sum, we can rightfully assume, to be earmarked for the purpose of transferring at least a part of the British-held blocked balances to the United States as a further means of assuring American penetration of Empire markets.

One can imagine that Britain will not jump at this opportunity of turning its best developed markets over to its chief competitor.

On its more general merits, the Aldrich-Taft plan received a fitting rebuff from Sir Chunilal B. Mehta, head of the Indian delegation at Rye, who said quite plainly that the key nation approach will leave "each individual nation to the mercy of either the United States or the United Kingdom and that would amount to dividing the world between two great nations—the United States and the United Kingdom." (*New York Times*, Nov. 14, 1944.)

According to the *New York Times*, spokesman for certain large financial interests, the Bretton Woods proposal should be rejected because it "means that America agrees in advance to lend each of more than forty other countries up to a certain fixed amount of dollars, whether or not there is any reasonable prospect of repayment, and regardless of the internal economic policies of each country or

ditions for doing business which prevail today.

In answering Senator Taft, Walter Lippmann realistically set forth these conditions. "In a world where there is only one great power capable of extending large international credits," he says, "the creditor-borrower relationship of normal private affairs does not prevail. The other great financial powers are in a position to have a very great deal to say about the terms on which they will accept credit." They will not accept terms "which they regard as dictation of their domestic policy by the United States, and as humiliating." (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, July 13, 1944.)

Should the United States veer away from the policy expressed at Bretton Woods, other nations would be forced to take measures in self-defense which would have the effect of severely limiting American participation in world markets. Britain, for example, would be impelled to push vigorously a program of bilateral arrangements, extreme Empire preferences, cartel pacts on high prices and closed markets, and other devices. The alternative is described rather vividly by A. R. Guinness, a leading banker and Chairman of the British National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce.

"Bilateralism or barter trade between two countries," he says, "should only be used as a fire escape and a last resort. . . . The methods of Dr. Schacht are not for us unless we have to use the fire escape." (*International Affairs*, London, October, 1944.)

what it does with the money." Instead, urges the *Times*, loans "should be granted only where there is real prospect of repayment, and only on consideration of the adoption of sound internal economic policies in each borrowing country." The stabilization of the dollar, together with a halt to "deficit financing" and the balancing of the budget, "would supply not only an example but an anchor for other currencies." (July 18, 1944.)

The *New York Herald Tribune* is more cautious, but adopts a similar attitude: "Instead of compelling debtor nations to put their affairs in order, as the price of participating in its benefits, this so-called 'stabilization' plan merely provides them with a breathing spell. . . ." (July 19, 1944.)

The Taft-Aldrich position seems to be in favor of an Anglo-American bloc, in which Britain shall gratefully assume the role of minor partner. The *Times-Tribune* opposition seems to demand exclusive American control and intervention as the price for extending credit. Both have in common opposition to any arrangements in which the borrowing countries will have a voice in regard to the terms and utilization of the loans. They want the United States to take advantage of its prime power and economic position to fix the conditions and the terms for each of the nations seeking credit.

In truth, this position not only fails to comprehend the new relations arising from the war, but fails to appreciate the unique con-

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Much the same issue is involved in the other main Bretton Woods proposal, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. With a subscribed capital of over nine billion dollars, the Bank is authorized to make long-term investments and to guarantee private international investments, with special consideration to the needs of the countries which have suffered from enemy occupation and hostilities. Capital is to be contributed by each country in about the same ratio as to the Stabilization Fund, to which the Bank is closely linked. As with the Fund, voting power is in direct proportion to the capital subscribed by each member nation.

The new element in this plan is the joint responsibility taken by the governments in extending or guaranteeing international investments for the purposes of long-range economic development. Naturally, it is not envisioned that all international investments will flow through the Bank or that it will be called upon to guarantee all private investment. But it is clear that such a Bank would tend to advance or guarantee loans where private investors would not take the risk, such as in war-devastated areas and in countries of a colonial economy wishing to develop their national industries.

Opposition to the Bank is somewhat less vociferous than to the Fund, because it is generally recognized by private interests that the government will have to ad-

vance or guarantee many loans for purposes for which the "risks" are considered too high.

Naturally, Senator Taft finds the Bank no less objectionable than the Fund, and for the same reasons. And the *Times* finds distasteful any arrangement which runs counter to its fantasy of a "free world economy, with private lenders risking their own funds and borrowers seeking to meet their requirements [where] loans would go to the countries and projects that offered the most attractive terms commensurate with the best prospect of repayment." (July 19, 1944.)

It is quite true that neither the Fund nor the Bank can be justified in such antiquated terms. The significance of the Bretton Woods proposals cannot be measured in terms of the percentage of interest which American bankers can anticipate. One of the advantages of the bank is precisely that investments for constructive purposes—such as restoring devastated industrial areas or helping a colonial country develop industry—stand a better chance of success when separated from the efforts of a banking group to obtain the highest possible rate of profit or secure special privileges in a foreign country. If the Bank does serve to restrain the activities of imperialist financial groups and to submit at least a good part of international investments to the scrutiny of a world board it will have served a good purpose. And within the limits envisioned by the Bank, this can be done.

Naturally, neither the Fund nor the Bank is in itself sufficient guar-

antee for stable economic relations between countries. Aside from the over-all requirement of assuring peace, which is necessary for the success of any cooperation in the economic field, these new ventures can cover only a small part of the whole complex of world economic relations. Many other important questions can be submitted to similar international arrangements—such as commerce, the allocation of raw materials, shipping and aviation, tariffs, and cartel problems.

The main thing is that countries liberated from the Axis and lands having a colonial or semi-colonial economy shall receive economic assistance of a kind which will facilitate their evolution as free and progressive nations and not hamper them with restrictions and political mortgages.

From this aspect, the Bretton Woods proposals have distinct advantages. Among these, the most significant is the joint direction by cooperating governments of the Fund and the Bank. This guarantees that the policies of the institutions will be subordinated to the world security policy enunciated at the Teheran conference and implemented at Dumbarton Oaks.

The leading participation of the Soviet Union, alongside of Britain and the United States, cannot help but bring about a change from the traditional policy of the money-lenders. The Soviet Union may not always be able to carry its propositions in such an international combination, but it will exert a decided influence upon the practices and financial policies of the institu-

tions. In connection with the Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago, the Soviet Union has already established the position that it will not join in any body in which pro-fascist and anti-Soviet states are represented. It is hard to conceive the Bank extending a loan to Franco or helping in the stabilization of a pro-fascist or reactionary regime anywhere.

The direct participation of the small nations and of countries with a colonial economy will also serve to strengthen their position in negotiations for development of loans and trade.

The Civil Aviation Conference serves as a sad example of what happens when an alternative policy is followed. The Conference broke all established practice by welcoming the participation of non-United Nations countries. The American delegation, the most important because it represented the leading aviation power, was under the direction of Adolph A. Berle, Jr., around whom there is more than an aroma of appeasement. The non-participation of the Soviet Union led to the absence of the most effective and consistent force working for agreement among the main powers in the spirit of Teheran. The result was that the American delegation could not be swerved from an obstinate grab-all policy, and resisted every effort at compromise on key points with the British.

This experience goes to show that it is fruitless to attempt an Anglo-American understanding on any important question unless the under-

standing is simultaneously made with the Soviet Union. It is only in the combination of the Big Three that the differences between Britain and the United States can be adjusted and subordinated to a broader purpose. Thus, the joint participation of all three in the Fund and the Bank—as well as in any future arrangement on specific economic problems—becomes a requisite for the adjustment of differences between Britain and the United States on matters directly related to world economic stability and peace.

A very significant aspect of Bretton Woods was the participation of the Soviet Union in a conference devoted to working out means for securing economic stability in inter-capitalist and capitalist-socialist relations. For one thing, this signifies the much greater role which the Soviet Union is prepared to play as an active participant in world economic relations, on her own rights as a great producing nation holding a key political position in the world. Even more, Soviet policy at Bretton Woods showed that the Soviet Union would employ her powerful position to encourage and to strengthen all joint and cooperative action to reduce economic strain and advance all possible forms of economic collaboration between the big powers, as well as between them and the small nations, in the interest of world security.

This policy was very dramatically expressed at Bretton Woods when the Soviet Union voluntarily increased her contribution to the capital of the International Bank.

This not only demonstrates the essential inner strength of a country which has suffered so heavily in the war but, even more significant, it emphasizes the Soviet intention actively to support and help lead all inter-governmental efforts of the United Nations directed toward stability.

* * *

The proposals unanimously adopted at Bretton Woods constitute an auspicious beginning of international cooperation on economic matters in the spirit of Teheran. The International Monetary Fund will be of aid to the countries suffering most from the war because it will make available to them funds with which to purchase necessary commodities from the United States and other nations. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development will help not only the war-devastated countries but also the economically backward to undertake long-range national projects. Both institutions will contribute to trade expansion, which is essential for the program of full employment at home. The inter-governmental auspices of the Fund and the Bank, under a policy committed to long-range collaboration of large and small nations, offers assurance that both short and long-term credits can be obtained on a basis of safeguarding the national sovereignties and developing the national economies. Finally, the acceptance of these proposals by the United States would be an important victory for the policy of world coop-

eration as opposed to America First and Foremost isolationism.

However, the opposition already expressed by anti-Roosevelt politicians, certain banking circles, and the sector of business opinion represented by the *New York Times*, indicates that the Bretton Woods proposals will not have easy sailing when they come up for approval in the new Congress. The fight

over Bretton Woods may prove the first real test of policy preliminary to the debates on the Dumbarton Oaks plan for a world security organization. The essence of the struggle should be advanced to the forefront. It should be made clear that what is at stake is the whole course of our policy, now and for the future, on such central matters as jobs and peace.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ITALY

BY PALMIRO TOGLIATTI (ERCOLI)

The following speech was delivered by Palmiro Togliatti (Ercoli), leader of the Italian Communist Party, at a Convention held by the Communist Federation of Rome on September 29, 1944. The Federation has a membership of 35,000.

COMRADES of the Roman Federation!

I wish, first of all, to extend to your Convention the greetings of the Central Committee of our Party. I greet you as the representatives of the new Communist organization which we are creating together here in Rome and throughout liberated Italy, an organization which must become the fighting advance-guard of all the Italian people, of all Italy.

Meaning of a "New Party"

[Togliatti declares that the Federation in Rome has already made considerable progress toward the goal of creating a new party capable of guiding all the people in the fulfillment of the great tasks confronting Italy at present. He then explains what Italian Communists mean when they speak of a new party.]

A new party is, first of all, a working class, people's party, which

no longer limits itself to criticism and propaganda, but intervenes in the life of the country through its own positive and constructive activity. Such activity, beginning in the factory and village branches, must be expanded by the Central Committee and the men whom we delegate to represent the working class in the Government. It is clear, therefore, that when we speak of a new party we mean, above all, a party which is capable of translating into its policies, its organization and its daily activity that profound change which has occurred in the position of the working class in relation to the problems of national life.

The working class, having abandoned its past position of criticism and stimulus to the democratic and progressive forces, today intends itself to assume, side by side with other consistently democratic forces, the leading function in the struggle for the liberation of the country and for the reconstruction of a democratic regime.

The old property-owning classes and, in particular, the most reactionary elements within them, gave life to fascism, brought it and kept it in power for twenty years, made and approved the fascist war until

the eve of defeat, and thus brought Italy to ruin.

Today, the salvation, the resurrection of Italy is not possible unless the working class intervenes in Italian political life as the new leading element of the whole nation; unless the great toiling masses of the country, closely bound in a united front, rally around the working class. This, comrades, is the fundamental theoretical and historical position from which we derive the concept of a new party. This is the basis from which we must draw a series of conclusions regarding our political activity as well as the forms and methods to be used in our organization.

The Liberation Committee Movement

It is not an easy task to reconstruct Italy as a great, free, democratic and progressive nation. The difficulties which we are now meeting and will continue to meet after the war are essentially due to the fact that the downfall of fascism occurred in such a way that it did not permit the immediate and complete elimination of the elements responsible for fascism. These are now attempting to gather their forces and to reconstruct the backbone of an anti-democratic, reactionary Italy, once again pregnant with fascism, just as it was before the march on Rome.

For this very reason, difficult and confused political situations are sometimes created in our country, despite the will to work, to fight, and to be united which exists among the advance guard parties and the

great masses of the people. The clear views, wisdom and political ability of the advance guard party of the working class are necessary to overcome such situations.

Elements of Dissatisfaction

Today, for example, there are some difficulties inherent in a certain dissatisfaction regarding the general political leadership of the country. (I am referring to this merely because we are united here at a Party Congress and because it is our duty to explain the country's situation to our militant members, and not for any other motive in particular). I am not speaking about the artificial dissatisfaction created a month ago by sources which we well know, through the launching of a stupid campaign which tried to undermine the government by protesting against the fact that it is composed only of the representatives of parties belonging to the National Liberation Committees. There was also an order of the day issued by 17 or 18 parties that coveted the government; but no one became aware of it. For, a declaration signed by the representatives of the six parties now in the government sufficed completely to shatter that campaign.

Today, the Liberation Committee Movement, which we call the National Front, has the right to govern the country for national as well as international reasons.

If there are democratic and anti-fascist parties, with a serious foundation and tradition, who wish to adhere to the National Front, as for example, the Republican Party, we

shall always support and vote in favor of such a step so that they may become a part of the Liberation Committees, and may contribute their ideas, their men, and their fighting spirit to this movement.

But we affirm that, at present, the parties adhering to the Liberation Committees represent the Italy which wants to redeem itself against the Germans, the Italy which wants to arise as a great democratic country, free, independent, progressive.

Proven Traitors Still in Armed Forces

Another element of dissatisfaction which has arisen among the masses, finding expression through confused and often violent and abrupt forces, is based on two fundamental motives, one economic, the other political, aggravated by a subsidiary motive which is national in character.

After the downfall of Fascism, the signing of the armistice, the declaration of war against Germany, the creation of the first government on a democratic basis, and then of the Government emanating directly from the Committees of National Liberation, the masses of honest Italians thought that they would finally be liberated from Fascism forever. Instead, this process of liberation is proceeding with a slowness that the masses do not understand. For example: the highest governmental bodies have undergone profound changes; but further down in the state apparatus, among the governmental institutions which have direct control over the population, such as the judicial bodies and the police force, we still find elements

who were given their present positions under Fascism and are justly considered as exponents of fascism. Every good Italian is now saying that it is impossible to leave the old mayor, rebaptized with the name of syndic or prefectural commissioner, in the same position of authority which he enjoyed in the past and surrounded by those who, as exponents of Fascism and confidential assistants to landowners, donned a blackshirt uniform and tyrannized over the people. It is untenable that such elements are to be found in the courts, the prefectures, and the police force.

Until today, we have not been able to obtain the removal from the armed forces here in Rome of those elements in command of the execution squads which, following Nazi orders, fired upon our patriots. This is absolutely intolerable; it is a situation which tugs at the conscience of every good Italian crying for vengeance.

Yet this cleansing action which a sense of national dignity and honor bids us to undertake is necessary in order to save the country and also because a precise international pledge demands the cleansing of all the Fascists, of all those who collaborated with the Germans and carried out their orders.

The second element of dissatisfaction is embodied in the great economic hardships, in the difficulties relating to transportation, distribution of supplies and food, etc. The people do not have the feeling that the governmental organs are speedily taking all measures necessary to administer the little which is left in

such a way as to avoid famine and hunger.

The People Want to Fight

There is then a general factor, national in character, which contributes to creating dissatisfaction. After the Nazis had been ousted, the great mass of Italian youth, of all the Italian people, wished to be armed in order to carry on the war to avenge all the evil perpetrated by the Nazis in Italy. They have remained profoundly disillusioned.

If we could tell the people: produce is lacking, the bread ration is scarce, there is no work, but the sacrifices which we are called upon to make permit our nation to fight to a greater extent for its liberation, we could more easily overcome the reasons for dissatisfaction which exist in the country. But this we cannot say for reasons which do not depend on us. Thus the dissatisfaction is exploited by provocateurs and is used to create disorder which is then blamed on the advance-guard parties. Or it is pounced upon by reactionaries, ex-Fascists and Fascists who attempt to use it to their advantage and to create a situation analogous to that which existed in 1920, '21, '22, when Fascism, exploiting the difficulties of that period, began its march to power. That such conditions can lead to painful occurrences, such as the lynching of a Nazi collaborator in Rome, is understandable.

The People's Anger

I have stated that we are deeply pained and preoccupied by this episode. When some people told us,

however, that "we should openly deplore it," we answered: We are disposed to deplore all violence; we do not want the creation of an atmosphere of violence and civil war, because we know that this would plunge our country into further ruin. We also deem it probable that some provocateurs mingled with the crowd which killed the ex-director of Regina Coeli, and threw the match which made the flame of popular hatred and wrath explode. We are well aware of all this and are ready to say it and repeat it at every opportunity.

But when we think of the 320 Italians, Romans, who were barbarously and infamously killed and abandoned like beasts in the Ardeatine Caves; when we know that in the crowd present at the Palace of Justice and the Lungotevere section there were the mothers, the parents of our murdered fellow-citizens and brothers, then we are not able to utter one single word in deploration. It is necessary to accept the people's wrath as a reality. It must not be provoked. Its explosion must be checked through rapid and energetic acts of justice.

The Reactionary Forces on the Offensive

The people are satisfied with the present government. They have faith in the government because they know that several men who have always led the fight against Fascism are participating in it. But the people sense that there is an extreme slowness which prevents the Government from acting with that fullness of movement essential

to lead the country on the road to resurrection.

There are, of course, difficulties of an objective type. Whenever and wherever we have witnessed them, we Communists have gone among the people, in the factories, in the countryside, among our comrades, urging them to bear those difficulties which cannot be overcome as yet. This we will continue to do, conscious of our responsibility and our duty to maintain unity throughout the nation in order to oust the Germans and crush the Fascists. But we want the disappearance of negative elements, those not related to objective difficulties, that is, we want the strengthening of the national democratic Government.

Beneath all this, however, there is a profound political problem: *In liberated Italy, we are witnessing the organization of an offensive by those reactionary forces which gave life to Fascism more than twenty years ago and are disposed to give life to a new Fascist movement in order to safeguard the interests of the property-owning classes.*

What do they intend to do? What do they want, these elements who are the scum of a regime from which we want to liberate our country forever?

They want to break the bloc of democratic forces which is the mainstay of the present Government. They want, instead, two mutilated trunks; they wish to fling to one side the more advanced forces, the progressive forces, the forces of the working class and the toilers generally, that is, of the Communist and Socialist Parties; and to the opposite

side, those which are rather bound to middle - bourgeois or bourgeois groups. To accomplish this operation which now dominates their spirit, they ask the following question:

What right do the Communists and Socialists have to participate in the Government?

And they answer:

They have no right to participate in the Government. Traditionally and by right, power belongs to the property-owning classes, guardians of the sacred right of property, and, we add, guardians of those economic and political privileges for whose defense Fascism arose and brought us to ruin.

"To the pillory . . ."

There is, for example, a Signor Zanetti, who publishes in Rome a pro-Fascist type of a sheet in which he says, no more and no less, that the participation of the Communist Party in the Italian Government is admissible solely because the Soviet Union is at present allied with Great Britain and the United States, and we are, supposedly, the Party which enjoys the protection of the Soviet Union. I believe that we must nail to the pillory the man who dared to write these words. We must nail him to the pillory not so much because of what he uttered regarding our Party, which is strong enough to defend its political position in the country—but because he proves with these words that he has a cowardly, despicable, servile spirit. The soul of the man who wrote these lines is the soul of the old reactionary castes who dominated and misgoverned Italy for

centuries. These castes maintained that they derived the right to exercise power from the fact that they had in their clutches the land and other material riches extorted from the people; and that they enjoyed the protection of some foreign power, of France, Spain, of the Austrians, of the invaders who held our country under their yoke for such a long time, curbing its political and civil development.

We denounce this servile, slave spirit which claims that a Party should have the right to participate in the Government of our country solely if it is under the protective wings of some great power. We want to eradicate it and destroy it forever.

Comrades, the Italian people have the right to govern themselves and to live without wearing servants' uniforms; and if the working masses give rise from their own bosom to a great, mass people's party such as our Communist Party is, and this Party presents its nomination for participation in the leadership of the country, there is no one who can deny it this right.

Our Martyrs Answer All Liars

These infamous maneuvers penetrate with more subtle arguments in other organs which are considered democratic and anti-Fascist. They tell us that we are not sincere when we declare that we are progressive democrats. We dismiss this charge with contempt. Those who dare to fling it against our Party are professional liars who are not able to think of our country or its policies except in terms of insincerity. For,

it is well known that our Party has become deeply rooted in every province through the heroism, activity, blood and sacrifice of its militant members, *that its ranks are swelled by more than 200 thousand workers*, that it conducts its political activities among the people, who are thus always in a position to judge the conformity between our words and our deeds.

This is attested to by our 162 comrades who lost their lives in the Ardeatine Caves; it is attested to by the armed workers' movement which we developed under the Garibaldine flag. *Sixty brigades, now fighting in Northern Italy, were organized by our Party.* These brigades are part of the great army of volunteers for freedom organized by the National Liberation Committee. But we have the right to cite this figure when loose talk is circulated to the effect that we should be excluded from the Liberation Front and from the Government on the false pretext that we are not inclined to respect private property.

They further accuse us of organizing armed squads in liberated Italy which are to be used for some fathomless purpose. You are well aware that we do not organize such squads. On the contrary, we have given orders to the comrades in liberated Italy to surrender all weapons and to respect the harmony existing among the anti-Fascist parties, avoiding every incident which might be exploited by Fascist provocateurs aiming to enmesh the country in national discord.

Once in a while, the fact that some

comrade of ours has exchanged blows with Catholic youths, or other similar occurrences, are also denounced. Each of these charges is the object of rigorous investigation. But we must state here that the only prominent political leader who has been attacked and wounded is a member of our party. You have already understood that I am referring to Comrade Li Causi.

[Li Causi, leader of the Communist Party in Sicily, was wounded during a conflict provoked by Sicilian Fascists who now call themselves Separatists and specialize in disrupting anti-Fascist meetings.]

They tell us that we want to establish Communism, now, through a sudden political coup. We do not place this objective before the masses today. But we do instill in them the desire to wage war against the Nazis and to create a democratic and progressive regime. We know that all those who love liberty and democracy and wish to see the rebirth of the country can fight for this goal.

A Spirit of National Solidarity

Let us put the cards on the table. When we witness the glaring economic contrasts existing in our country, we have the right and the duty to denounce them, demanding that economic problems be faced and solved, within the sphere of our war effort, in a spirit of true and complete national solidarity. This signifies that it is necessary to remove speculators from circulation and prevent speculation so that the poor shall not become poorer still.

[Togliatti briefly describes the

conditions of workers employed in the mercury mines of the Mount Amiata region. The miners earn 30 lire (30¢) a day; they are barefoot, their bread ration is insufficient; they are hungry and steeped in despair by the sight of their children who bear the marks of physical degeneration caused by suffering. Togliatti also refers to similar conditions existing in Sardinia. And this, while there are places in Rome where scandalously sumptuous banquets are the order of the day.]

This is not national solidarity. It is no way to organize the feeding of a country at war, impoverished by twenty years of Fascist corruption, and faced by the prospect of a terrible winter of famine and hunger. We ask that these glaring contrasts be forced to disappear. We demand this, not because we are motivated by a desire to create a Socialist regime, but because we want a regime based on national solidarity, which will guarantee to those who work the means to continue working without being struck by the insulting wealth and abundance enjoyed by the speculators. This is not a class problem; it is a national problem.

The same precept can be applied to the land question. This is also connected with the destruction of the remnants of the Fascist regime. The large land-owners, as a class, were among the creators and profiteers of Fascism. The Fascist regime distributed hundreds of millions among them. The integral solution of the land problem will be decided by the Constituent Assembly. But wherever the problem is particu-

larly acute, where the masses must stand by, letting the land remain uncultivated while they know that next spring they will have no produce with which to feed themselves and the city populations, here the problem must be solved immediately through governmental initiative.

We are glad that the peasants in the Roman region have raised this question. This signifies that they begin to have a more profound consciousness of their rights and to understand what democratic Italy must be.

They tell us that by criticizing the Government we aim to create in Italy a Kerensky type of situation which will open the doors to some revolutionary adventure. We are part of the Government and we support it. But especially now, when there are no representative organs in which free, democratic criticism can develop itself, we have the right and the duty, even while participating in the government, to exercise a function of criticism and stimulus. If this criticism were lacking at a time when the reactionary, Fascist, and semi-Fascist groups exert pressure on the Government in order to lead it into a reactionary direction, we should not be rendering a service to our country, but solely to Fascism.

The Government is weakened, not by the man who diffuses a democratic spirit among the masses, discussing the problems on which depends the salvation of the country, but by him who contributes to leaving Fascist and semi-Fascist elements in the governmental apparatus; who leaves reactionary pre-

fects in the provinces and is not capable of ousting from the armed forces the executioners of our patriots. Criticizing, stimulating, fighting for the correction of these errors, we carry out the only democratic policy which is just and necessary to maintain the strength and authority of the Government among the people.

Enemies of Italy

What does it intend to do, this offensive of the reactionary forces against us, against the Socialists, against all the sincerely democratic anti-Fascist forces, against the most advanced wing of the National Liberation Front? The reactionaries wish to change the political formula which is the basis for our country's Government today, the formula of unity of all anti-Fascist parties, the formula of national unity. By launching these stupid, absurd accusations against us, by trying to create a situation which will lead to statements claiming that our Party must leave the Government, an attempt is made to push the country toward another formula, toward the formula of government by conservative forces against the opposition, the labor and progressive forces. The formula which the reactionaries long for is that of class against class: the property-owning class in control of the Government against the working class excluded from the Government. This is what the owners of *L'Opinione* [*Opinion*] openly preach. And there is an attempt gradually to infiltrate this idea in those circles which have not yet completely broken all ties with

the conservative, reactionary, pro-Fascist forces in the country. Fully aware of our responsibility, we feel that it is our right to declare that those who preach such a formula, or push others in its direction, are not only the enemies of the workers and the people, but also the enemies of Italy. We accuse those who openly or secretly conduct this campaign, of wanting to plunge Italy into a catastrophe, which, added to that brought about by Fascism, would signify the definite ruin of the country.

As regards the Government, there is no possible alternative in Italy today to the Government of national unity which we wanted and which we support; the possibility of governing by excluding from the Government the most advanced forces of democracy, the Socialist and Communist Parties, the parties which represent the advance-guard of the people struggling for their liberty, does not exist.

And to the agents of this anti-national political line, who make the rounds here and there whispering: "Ah! the Communists, the Socialists are our ruin. Let us oust the Socialists and the Communists from power; then you will see what privileges we shall be accorded: the United States will send us dollars; England will give us countless miles of sand in Africa, on which we will once again be able to reconstruct a new and beautiful empire . . ."

To them we say: "You are enemies of Italy. Today, Italy can arise, or rather can initiate its work of resurrection, only if the national unity of all democratic and anti-

Fascist forces is maintained and strengthened. The possibility of another Italian government does not exist. And if an attempt were made to create a government no longer based on national unity, but on the exclusion of the vital forces of the working class and the people, the country would inevitably fall, step by step, into a state of disorder and chaos which would necessarily lead to the end of our unity and our independence."

We Do Not Wish to Provoke a Governmental Crisis

We accuse those who speak of excluding the representatives of the working class from the Government, of being agents for the colonization of Italy. We accuse them of being slaves who, in order to safeguard their privilege of living by exploiting the people, are ready to wear any servant's uniform and to sell the nation's greatest possession: its freedom. Italy's unity and independence will be saved and regained only if all those who have understood the profound significance and the causes of events in Italy during the past twenty years, seriously determine to do penance; only if they understand that they will commit a crime against the country by arraying themselves against the working class, and repelling popular demands and aspirations for liberty and justice, at the very moment in which the working class and the people are the backbone of resistance and struggle against the Germans.

We do not wish to provoke any governmental crisis. To those who

claim that, once the North is freed, something will have to be changed, we answer that we do not know as yet if and what will have to be changed; but it is certain that the political formula which is the basis for government in our country today cannot be changed. The masses of the North, the workers of Turin, Milan, Genoa, the laborers in the Po Valley, will not ask the Communist Party or the Socialist Party to leave the Government. On the contrary, we are certain that they will ask us to participate *more fully* in the Government, to make our influence felt to a greater extent. They will ask us to succeed in achieving the aims of all the Italian people, namely, speedy liberation from all Fascist vestiges, and the initiation of the country's reconstruction on the basis of true, effective, national solidarity, forever shattering the hateful privileges which were the real basis of the Fascist regime.

[Togliatti continues by saying that we appreciate the speeches of the man who is at the head of the Government, to whom we are giving all necessary support. But political difficulties and dissatisfaction can be more easily overcome if all elements in the National Liberation Movement will liquidate existing mistrust of the working class parties and will block every plan aiming to prevent these parties from participating in the leadership of the country, in the reconstruction and rebirth of Italy.]

A clear, political-economic program, a program of struggle against the reactionary forces, must correspond to the formula of national

unity. There will be no more difficulties, no more dissatisfaction if the people know that the men and the parties in the Government are exerting all their energy to apply such a program. First of all, we want full waging of the war; secondly, we want the struggle for the destruction of Fascist vestiges to be conducted in the most rapid and effective manner. Cleansing must speedily reach the provinces, the prefects, the commissioners, the policemen, the agricultural apparatus—every single place still infested by Fascists who dare attempt the unleashing of a wave of reaction against our Party.

To carry out this program, the Government must lean on the Committees of Liberation. These must be strengthened through the adherence of the national parties which want to participate in the reconstruction of the country.

It is necessary to call to the leadership of the country the vital and healthy forces of the people who have earned the right to participate in it through their work and their heroism.

Together with the Socialist Party we have proposed that local administrative elections be held. We have suggested this measure not for partisan motives, but in order to extricate the people from a situation in which the administration of every town and village is subject to change solely because a reactionary land-owner is a friend of the prefect, or because a certain administration does not suit a Police Marshal or this or that official. Every municipality needs stability and the Italian

people are sufficiently intelligent to make good use of their electoral ballot. We intend to submit Party lists or coalition lists in the election, according to the situation.

As regards the economic field, we believe that it is necessary to solve the food problem by creating organs which can ensure supplies for the cities, especially during the winter, eliminating speculation and the black market as much as possible. To this end, we ask that the Price Control Administration assume partial control of the means of transportation and the markets, so that at least a portion of the produce may reach the population without its being forced to pay the toll now imposed by black market speculators. It is necessary to nominate a commissioner to handle the food problem on a nation-wide scale, and in addition a commissioner for every province and every municipality. The few resources which we have must be justly distributed, without those glaring contrasts which we are witnessing today. The other problems, such as the land question, must also be faced in a spirit of national solidarity.

Finally, completely united, we must face the reactionary forces and block their plans to infiltrate in the army and in other armed services destined for the defense of the country, elements or influences tending to transform them into organs which could tomorrow be used against the people for the restoration of a reactionary, Fascist regime.

This is the general outline of the program which we are suggesting to the bloc of democratic, anti-Fascist

parties, to the Committees of Liberation and the Government. The Government will gain infinite strength when it will demonstrate to the people that it is seriously and sincerely working to carry out this program, overcoming all the obstacles in its path.

The realization of this program is closely related to the international situation which is serious and grave. On this score, we have no illusions.

The International Situation

[Here Togliatti alludes to Benedetto Croce's recent speech.]

We have admired the idealism of this man, his candor, the naive faith with which he appeals to international public opinion, the affection for his own country which is revealed by his every word. But we who are accustomed to examine domestic and international political situations coldly and scientifically, must necessarily affirm that our country's situation is profoundly different from that described by Senator Croce. We who are and have always been seriously democratic and anti-Fascist, and have always given proof of this, can truly say that we have come out of this war, not as the vanquished but, on the contrary, as the victors.

In the field of relations between State and State, however, it cannot be denied that until yesterday, Italy was neither anti-Fascist nor democratic and that even today it is anti-Fascist and democratic only to a certain degree. Italy, as a Fascist state which received every type of support for twenty years from the property-owning classes, has really

been defeated and plunged into catastrophe. And the diffidence which exists against the Italy of the controlling, imperialist classes which had dreamed to create through aggression an empire of peoples serving an abject regime, has not been overcome. It will not be overcome until Italy will have proved that it has really become a democratic and anti-Fascist country, in which no one's hand trembles when the question arises of condemning to death a vile agent of foreign imperialism; in which the popular masses fully participate in political life; in which the basis for Fascist tyranny has been destroyed.

The best thing we can do today is not to speak of international politics at all, since every word, even the most honest, will be inevitably interpreted in a sense widely differing from the intentions of the one who uttered it.

Today the problems of our foreign policy must be solved on the ground of our domestic policy. The problems of the resurrection of Italy as a power which deserves the respect of the entire world, must be solved on the ground of the struggle for the destruction of every Fascist vestige and for the creation of democracy, of a regime of liberty and progress.

Until we have given such proof, until we have demonstrated that we are united in this struggle, speeches will have little effect in changing the international situation.

Personally I maintain, and I do not hesitate to say it, that Senator Croce would perhaps have accomplished something much more useful

to our domestic as well as foreign policies, if he had exercised and continued to exercise his influence on the conservative and reactionary members of his party, and on those elements which have not yet renounced the plan to reconstruct the old conservative and imperialist Italy which gave rise to Fascism. Senator Croce should use his influence on those who are full of resentment, mistrust and even hatred against the working class, people's parties; on the elements who, initiating the publication of a daily newspaper in Naples a few days ago, wrote their first editorial without saying a single word against the enemies of the country, the Nazis and the Fascists, but called us, the working class, people's parties, the enemies of the people.

I believe that if Senator Croce will use part of his indisputable authority to fight and destroy the low, sordidly materialistic spirit which impels these elements in his party to pursue a policy of national discord deriving its origin from a desperate defense of egotistic caste interests and privileges, he will fulfill a truly national task and will render a great service to Italy.

The Right to Fight; Less Allied Control

We can never forget that the Anglo-Saxon armies came to Italy, that they were the decisive elements in the liberation of our country. We therefore pledge that our Party will do its utmost to eliminate friction and all sources causing dissatisfaction and mistrust of the Allied authorities.

As regards the powers that are now fighting in Italy, it is better to leave aside all big questions which cannot be solved today. To better our country's situation now, we must present two problems for consideration: the first is a request which we have discussed since the very beginning, launching the slogan: "Let us fight for our country." We understand that the transportation of weapons is a difficult task, but without using one single ton of shipping, it is possible to allow our partisans to continue fighting against our enemies, once the provinces in which they fight are liberated.

The Disarming of the Partisans

The other day, I was speaking to the comrades of the heroic Arno Division, whose commander, Comrade Potente, lost his life in battle. These comrades had tears in their eyes when they described the disarming of their unit. [The Arno Division is the partisan unit chiefly responsible for the liberation of Florence.]

And I felt within me all the bitterness, all the sorrow of these Italians who had obtained weapons by wresting them from the Nazis and the Fascists at the risk of their own lives; who had fought for many months with these weapons, risking their lives every day, every hour; and who, today, have had to give up their weapons and have been invited to return to their homes, now, while Italy is not yet free. These men asked nothing but to face death once again for their country, using

those same weapons and no others.

We understand their bitterness. It is a bitterness shared by all the Italian people. And when they told me that the day when they surrendered their weapons, there were certain not very well inspired elements who asked them to give up the red shirts and kerchiefs which they had worn while they fought for our freedom, I felt not only the profound bitterness caused by the disarming of the Partisan Division but also the offense to our people.

I would like to remind those responsible for such acts that they can find, not only in our literature, which I understand is a closed book to them, but also in other literatures an explanation of what the red shirt symbolizes to Italy, of what the red kerchief of the Garibaldinis has signified to Italy. Let them read the works of the great, liberal English historian, Trevelyan; let them read the immortal verses of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. There they will find, in their own language, words which will make them understand what the red color of the Garibaldine shirt has meant to Italy, to Europe and to the world, and they will perhaps be ashamed of what they have done.

We continue to ask that we be allowed to fight to a greater extent, and in particular, that our heroic partisans be given the possibility to be integrally admitted to the Italian Liberation Corps so that they may continue to fight until the end of the war and may act as a patriotic and popular stimulus within the army.

We maintain that the Government and the popular parties must also

ask the Allies to reduce the control exercised by Allied organs to the indispensable minimum, to that degree necessary in a country which is the scene of military operations.

As far as general governmental activity is concerned, let greater liberty to govern be given to the democratic Italian Government which is composed of the representatives of all social classes and all parties.

At times, a measure which is wise and opportune today, is apt to lose its usefulness and scope after three months lost in discussion with the most varied Allied control organizations. Thus it creates disorder instead of creating order and discipline. The same is true of the State apparatus.

It is inadmissible that a democratic, national unity government should be unable to change the lowest functionary in a prefecture without passing through endless controls. It is untenable that, in speaking to the people, we should always be forced to say: "Yes, our Government wants to act, but . . .", thus throwing the responsibility on an outside power.

During this last period, the Italian people have given great proof of political maturity; they have remained disciplined, understanding the necessity for avoiding situations which would harm military operations. Even today they are patiently awaiting the solution of problems whose urgency is understood by all.

A people which has behaved this way, which has created the Liberation Committee Movement embracing the representatives of all social classes which are collaborating in

one government; a people which has given these proofs of maturity and discipline has the right to ask that its own Government have the power to govern by itself.

A Bloc of National Working-Class Forces Within the National Bloc

Unity of the democratic parties is necessary in order to achieve these goals. We are fighting to maintain this national unity. It is your obligation, your duty never to lose sight of the national unity character of our political line, while developing the basic work of our Party and closer ties with the people, and conducting the necessary activities in defense of the demands presented by industrial workers, peasants, and all other workers. We do not want the shattering of this national bloc on which we wish to build something solid in Italy.

[Togliatti then refers to the agreements made with the Socialist Party in particular and of the Communists' proposal for a special political agreement with the Christian-Democratic Party.]

We thus wish to create within the great national bloc, a solid bloc representing the forces of all workers: industrial workers, peasants, white collar employees, and progressive intellectuals. This bloc will be the best guarantee of victory against the reactionary forces. Crushing their attempts to resist and arise once again, it will ensure a solution of the most serious economic and political problems (the elections, the food problem, the land question, wage-increases, etc.) which will be

favorable to the masses of the people.

We will, therefore, continue our work to achieve political collaboration with the Christian-Democratic Party. Such a step will be possible if this party will adopt a clear policy based on defense of the working masses which follow the Christian-Democratic Movement.

[Having clearly defined the Communist Party's political line, Togliatti observes that the struggle for these policies gives the Party the character of a new party, which fights for the unity of the democratic anti-Fascist forces, and for the creation of favorable conditions in Italy leading to the establishment of a truly democratic and progressive regime. This political line must be spread in all the Party's organizations to the very last branch, to the farthest village. It is therefore necessary to have a profound knowledge of the Party's fundamental policies and to use the organization as an instrument which will permit it to mobilize all the people for the realization of this program.]

Such an extensive and difficult policy cannot be fulfilled solely by the Party leaders but must be applied through the combined action of the leadership and the rank and file. The leadership must present all problems for consideration at the right moment, attempting to maintain unity with all the political forces of the country and to lead them in the struggle against the reactionary forces. The rank and file must organize the masses, stimulate them, and give ceaseless consideration to their problems, namely, the

problems facing them in their everyday life and the question of organizing a democratic regime.

Fascism disrupted the working class and the masses of the people, while it left untouched the organizations of the controlling classes. The working class is therefore in a condition of inferiority because its organizations are only now beginning to be reestablished. This situation can be corrected if our Party succeeds, through its rank-and-file action, in making the organizations of the working masses arise once again. The working class will then feel stronger and will be able to defend its interests in a more effective way.

[Togliatti congratulates the delegates for their successful Congress, urging them to do their utmost so that the Party may rapidly progress and become that great mass and people's party which Italy needs.]

Rome

Rome is not a conspicuously proletarian city. The proletarian nucleus is surrounded by a mass of small or middle bourgeois elements which were profoundly corrupted during Fascism. Extensive action is therefore necessary to give this mass a new, fighting, democratic spirit, class-consciousness, and above all a national spirit. The Party will thus be able to gain a solid and decisive base in Rome. Rome is still a city which looks on indifferently at the great process of renewal predominating throughout Italy. As a matter of fact, in the villages there is greater enthusiasm, greater fire, greater popular impetus toward the

fulfillment of the tasks facing the Italian people. It is necessary to create an identical situation in Rome. We must be able to rally around us the entire population.

All the Party sections in Rome must become popular mass organizations enjoying the support of the workers, the unemployed, the women, of all the population. The people will then regard the Party sections as the nuclei of an organization which fights for their interests, for their redemption.

You must succeed in making Rome, the present and future capital of Italy, the city which not only leads the country in an administrative sense, but also a city which makes a bid for political leadership by being the center, the heart of a democratic, revolutionary life. From

such a city would spring a strong call which would reach the entire country and gather the masses of the people together for the struggle which we must wage, which we must win against the reactionary forces, against Fascism, for the rebirth of Italy. I am convinced that you will give profound consideration to this problem. This conference has in itself provided clarification as to how it should be solved.

We invite you, in the name of the Central Committee, to work, after this Congress, ten times, a hundred times better than you have worked until now, so that Rome may be the great city, the heart of the democratic anti-Fascist progressive movement of all Italy.

I wish you speedy attainment of this goal.

A TRIBUTE TO WENDELL WILLKIE

BY JOHN STUART

LIKE so many others, the evening of last election day I sat glued to the radio waiting for the national returns. When they came in the quiet morning, when there was no longer any doubt that millions had again said yes to the President, I thought of Wendell Willkie and what he would have thought about the refreshing news. Weeks ago he had privately predicted that Dewey's uneasy coalition would be "slaughtered" by an aroused, angry people. Now it was as he had said. His was a forecast that required no extraordinary prophetic powers. It simply required the vision of an honest man with a deep love of country, a sense of world realities, a genuine affection for our friends abroad. The nub of the matter is that the renewed mandate given Mr. Roosevelt was Wendell Willkie's best vindication.

Death produces in the living a politeness, a reverence that has become known as the obituary appraisal. These notices are often vague and honeyed; they frequently belie the writer's real feeling. But when Wendell Willkie died the messages that came from all corners of the country—and the world—were deep from the heart, and their overtone of shock is an index to

how the man, and the ideas that possessed him, had etched their way into the national conscience. There was also the "grief" of his bitter enemies. I read their condolences and I thought of how jackals have their own way of mourning the dead lion. They believed his death would relieve them of his thundering charges. Now that they came to bury him, they could shower him with praise. But his were doctrines that are the legacy of our times, and Wendell Willkie dead is infinitely more alive in the memory of our people than the Republican princes who remain after him.

It was the summit of hypocrisy to see a Hoover, a Herbert Brownell, a Thomas Dewey shed tears. In their circles they made the name of Wendell Willkie something to be uttered with hatred; their fury against him knew no bounds. They had refused him even a minute to address the Republican convention, for in their ears his words would be treason. And what was that treason? Wendell Willkie believed in one world; he believed in a foreign policy resting on the natural foundation of enduring friendship among all the Allies; he believed that isolationism would make us the pariah of the earth; he believed

that there could be no first and second class citizens without jeopardizing the country's safety; he believed that the Communist political minority has rights every bit as sacred as those of the Republican political minority; he refused to submit to the insolent, rapacious imperialists comprising his party's hierarchy even when it meant that his political aspiration would in consequence be crushed. These tenets were at the core of his credo—a credo that found its ultimate expression in words he spoke to a columnist (Samuel Grafton in the *New York Post* of October 16, 1944):

"I tell you that if a man is not, deep in his belly, in favor of the closest possible relations with Britain and Russia, then it does not matter what else he is. Such a man will be anti-labor, even if he praises labor twenty-four hours a day. He will be anti-labor because he will be working for a constricted America, a contracted America, a less prosperous America. For the very same reason, such a man will also be anti-business, in the deepest sense, even though he may consider himself a servant of business, even though he falls on his knees before business. He will be anti-business because he will be working for a smaller America, a less important America. This is the touchstone to a man's entire position in politics today. Only occasionally does it happen that one issue arises which is so controlling that every other issue is subsidiary to it, and this is it. But it is not enough for a man merely to repeat the right words about world collaboration. He has to be on fire with it. He has to feel, in his belly, that this is the

door which will open outward to an expansion of American activity and prosperity. You cannot be wrong on this issue and right on any other."

* * *

Wendell Willkie was not stiff with starchy erudition. He learned through his eyes and on his feet, and the education of Wendell Willkie is perhaps the education of America in the last decade. He learned and unlearned and learned again, with each step often painfully made. He reached his political maturity in a turbulent world, in the tumult of crisis in which everything was tested in the acid bath of war. It is startling to read the speeches he made in the 1940 campaign and to compare them with those in the four years that followed. In 1940 Willkie was the hard-fisted business man who believed in efficiency instead of principle and in the techniques of business administration instead of fundamental, fruitful policy. His language is studded with references to "bureaucracy" and that whole political vocabulary associated with the frigid corporation mind. He believed that government could be manipulated not unlike the way he manipulated the pyramid of holding companies as president of Commonwealth and Southern utilities. You will find all the tattered phrases about the "supremacy of private enterprise"—as though anyone was challenging it—"government interference," "waste," and "over-spending." He had no creative program of his own. He played with issues, false and real, sat on both sides of

the fence. While he was without the stodginess of Landon, while he had breeze and freshness about him and his appearance was something radically different from a statue in a museum, he contributed nothing, added nothing and was, so far as political thinking goes, very close to zero.

In justice to him it should be said that during this arid period of his unfolding he denounced Coughlin and the Coughlinites. He perceived dimly what it would mean for the world if Hitler came to dominate it, or if Hitler's missionaries in this country gained the ascendancy. Yet he was the titular head of a party to which the American Nazis gravitated and all his personal distaste for them was to no avail. He was the prisoner of the Republican hierarchy and, while he sensed that the totalitarian powers threatened the United States with catastrophe, the one policy which would have distinguished him, a policy of friendship for the Soviet Union as the best defense for this country, was at the time still beyond his understanding.

In many respects he was the corporation chief with a wistful desire for a world long passed by. What must be borne in mind, however, about the earlier Wendell Willkie is that he was not a businessman in the ordinary sense, in the sense which the term can be applied to Henry Ford or E. T. Weir. He was a lawyer without knowledge of the processes of production. He was a front man for a utilities giant whose actual services were shouldered by others; his job as head of Common-

wealth and Southern was to create public sympathy for a monopoly whose wretched record in the twenties and early thirties made it necessary to impress the country that its motives were noble and its dealings on the highest spiritual level. While his convictions at the time were those of Coolidge and Hoover, his peculiar business role made it possible for him to explore ideas which others in the financial community would not touch with a ten-foot pole. In Wall Street, where the pattern of behavior was rigidly cut, Willkie was frequently called a brash young man, a dabbler in books, an intellectual who delighted in arguing about Willim Pitt or Veblen.

* * *

I am wary of stories about a rebellious boyhood as the origin of a radical adult. There are the young rebels who when they grow up become the adornments of torydom; there are the young conservatives who mature to leadership of great progressive causes. But in the case of Wendell Willkie there is a background of early dissidence which may have cut into his grain and left indelible marks. At Indiana University he was a non-conformist; it is said of him that he wanted a course in socialism with Karl Marx's work used as texts. But even more important, it seems to me, was the fact that his grandparents had come to Indiana to escape German tyranny after the unsuccessful revolution of 1848. He was proud of that fact, for it gave him a hatred of Prussianism. Then too his immediate family was a

lively, vigorous-minded group. His mother was the first woman admitted to the Indiana bar; his father, a school teacher and lawyer, on occasion defended the rights of labor. One of Willkie's aunts practiced medicine and one of his grandmothers was a Presbyterian preacher.

But for all that his background was essentially easy and comfortable. While Willkie often depicted himself as the Indiana farmer who made good, he was hardly the barefoot boy described by the hired advertising executives in 1940. By his own lights he was a success and his family tradition of non-conformity evaporated under his heated drive for position and power. Nevertheless, the lords of industry who embraced him were always a little worried over his "instability," his refusal to bend the knee completely before them. They knew, though, that whatever eccentricities were his they were never menacing. He shared their convictions in the sanctity of the business mind, in the ability of the corporation executive to solve all the world's problems. But Willkie, after he had blitzed his way forward in the 1940 convention and licked the Dewey and Taft crowd, while he knew that he was beholden to the men who lifted him to the top, would banter them privately, mimic them ever so indiscreetly without showing too serious a disrespect.

I do not know whether after the 1940 campaign Wendell Willkie sat down and took a personal inventory of himself, of his politics, of his understanding of the great trials the

world was encountering. I think not. He was not the man to contemplate, to ruminate in a study. But the world was not a pretty picture in the opening months of 1941 nor would Willkie resign himself to the oblivion into which unsuccessful presidential candidates fall. He refused to be an innocuous elder statesman: Hitler and Hitlerism would not let him. Wendell Willkie then entered the domain of genuinely practical politics in the interests of the nation as a whole.

Since Willkie was a Republican he cast a searching light on how the Republican Party was meeting the imperatives of the world scene. He had come back from London where he saw the ravages inflicted on the city by the barbarous Luftwaffe. France had fallen; Europe was being rapidly consumed. If he suspected it before he knew now that the menace would not end on the other side of the Atlantic and that the ocean was no barrier against attack. He knew, in addition, that his own party chieftains were hardly concerned with the fascist threat, that large sectors of his party were ruled by men who felt that they could get on with the lords of Nazidom just as the business men of Vichy were. He saw how the Republican congressmen were fighting every measure that would provide the groundwork for a wholesome foreign policy; he saw how the Republican big-wigs opposed any vigorous policy against Hitlerism.

This was the beginning of Wendell Willkie's re-education. He undertook in turn what was almost

a single-handed struggle to re-educate the men who pulled the Republican switches. He pleaded with them to fulfill the minima of patriotism and his appeal in essence was to demonstrate to them that their freedom as Republican concessionaires, as business men, depended on the complete annihilation of Hitler. When he did that, he was in effect telling the entire American bourgeoisie that except for a few genuflecting quislings the unchallenged bourgeoisie of Germany would pulverize them. He appealed to their self-interest and in doing that merged that interest with the nation's in the struggle for its independence.

I believe that here was Willkie's fundamental contribution to the American cause of liberty. He launched a critical battle within the Republican Party—a battle between those forces seeking national unity and those who opposed it. He became the rallying center of the non-professional and anti-machine elements. He provided them with a political doctrine to dam the polluted stream of anti-Semitism, anti-Communism, appeasement and isolationism. He fought for Negro rights. He defended the foreign-born. And as he propounded his doctrine he moved closer and closer to President Roosevelt's policies—except for those blatant aberrations which Willkie blindly retained in order to keep a so-called independence. What was often dismaying about him as he grew to political maturity was his pot shots at the White House, an aimless firing of guns by the “out” against

the “in” even if it hurt the very things in which he so dearly believed. Yet even this pettiness does not cancel out the historical value of Willkie's acts.

Having discovered that no class in America was safe from Hitler, Willkie's next step was dictated by the logical need to find allies who could be counted upon to guarantee victory in the war. I do not mean to say that this process worked in such an orderly pattern. But at some point he discovered the world character of the war and when he did, the rest followed in obvious sequence. He found China, he found the massive anti-fascism of the colonial world—he found the Soviet Union, just as millions of others in this country discovered her at a moment of trial and grief for the ~~A~~ world. He found that the ~~the~~ attacked was the only ~~the~~ by which the attacker could be destroyed. Thus born in his mind and brought forth by bitter need was the concept of one world—of United Nations.

There was no halting him then. His forty-nine day odyssey around the globe gave substance to what were already major premises in his thinking. When you re-read his *One World* you are singularly impressed with the transformation of a man from the provincialism of the American hinterland, from a small-town citizen to a citizen of the world. His brief was in almost every respect consonant with the times. He confirmed for himself that it would be a calamity if the war drifted into four separate wars. He clearly challenged the dangerous

notion that the war was an exclusive Anglo-American affair and he insisted that our country must accept the friendship of the Soviet Union and China on terms of equality. When the strength of the go-slow camp merged with that of the outright appeasers to delay an attack from the west, Willkie spoke up forcefully for the opening of a second front. And he saw with keenness that the future would be shaped solely by how well the coalition would survive all the vicissitudes of the war. Willkie grew up in the struggle to weld a world alliance.

If there were deficiencies in his doctrine, if he did not see the matter whole, they revolved mainly around the ingrained prejudices of a section of American big business towards their British brethren. Instead of seeking some way, as Earl Browder has pointed out, whereby British colonialism could be dissolved by compensating Britain with a guaranteed share of the markets of Asia, Africa and elsewhere—a share commensurate with her needs as a great trading nation, Willkie swung wildly and merely stiffened the backs of the diehards in their fear that America wanted to relegate them to a junior position. He did not know how to alleviate the fright of the City men over America's superior industrial and financial power. It is not surprising, then, that several of the things he said about imperialism, and his understanding of it was far from complete, had overtones of Henry Luce's American Century thesis. He never quite resolved the contradiction be-

tween his desire for friendship with Great Britain and his thrusts at her colonial keepers.

Nevertheless, Willkie did realize that the peace must have economic foundations different from those of the past and he used an illuminating phrase to describe the economic era which victory must introduce into the world, especially for colonial peoples. In *One World* he said: "The big house on the hill surrounded by mud huts has lost its awesome charm. . . . It is also inescapably true that to raise the standard of living of any man anywhere in the world is to raise the standard of living by some slight degree of every man everywhere in the world."

Here is a significant kernel of the Willkie economic philosophy which distinguishes it from the rapacious grasping of those who lynched him politically. It marked the changing concept of many American capitalists of how they were to get on in the world in contrast to the outlook of the Deweys, Brickers, McCormicks and Hearsts, who in their lust for markets and world domination would take to their bosoms every bigoted group abroad. This dog-eat-dog program would lead to fighting the British, warring on the Soviets, conflict in the Far East, all in the effort of the reactionary imperialists to set themselves up as masters of an American empire. They would keep the colonial peoples in economic bondage, keep them weak and defenseless and make them the prey of every aggressor. It would be a continuation of the Latin-American policy pur-

sued by Coolidge and Hoover. And for the United States it would lead to another holocaust following in the wake of devastating economic crisis.

Willkie saw things differently, and in seeing them differently he mirrored the economic solutions which a dominant section of American capitalism accepted when it supported the President's signature on the Teheran agreement. When Willkie spoke of lifting the world's standard of living, particularly that of the colonial areas, he acknowledged that this was the way—by industrializing the backward areas of the globe—of maintaining the American industrial machine in full operation. And since industrialization cannot proceed among peoples held in political subjugation, he supported their right to liberation and independence. In other words, the needs of the American economy could not be met without America staunchly endorsing a policy of equality with all peoples who would join in a program of economic development involving the adjustment of rivalries through international collaboration.

This is the material foundation for Willkie's desire to expand the good neighbor policy to global proportions. There was implicit in it the recognition that political and economic instability anywhere would reverberate at home. A Europe in disorder would mean at the very least, for example, that American manufacturers would hesitate to extend credit abroad because repayment was uncertain. It was from this angle that many Ameri-

can business men looked aghast at Dewey's foreign policy. And in very large measure this accounts for Walter Lippmann approving President Roosevelt for another term. In one of his columns (whose theme was "I cannot feel that Gov. Dewey can be trusted now with responsibility in foreign affairs") he voiced the troubled feelings of those Republicans, a large number of them businessmen, who looked to Wendell Willkie for leadership and who felt that his presence would somehow restrain the wild men of the Republican hierarchy from committing the most grievous blunders. With Willike gone, they—for example, Sen. Ball, Russell Davenport, Bartley Crum, banker Frank Altschul, executive Albert Lasker—turned to Mr. Roosevelt to maintain that international amity by which American trade and business could flourish. This move from the Republican Party toward the Roosevelt candidacy was a major example of non-partisanship in the elections, of how self-interest, expressed in the past by party regularity, motivated a trend to those men and movements which could best protect that self-interest by merging it with the national interest as part of a world fellowship. This is what Willkie meant when he said that a businessman is anti-business in the deepest sense if he does not feel strongly the urgency of world collaboration—"the door which will open outward to an expansion of American activity and prosperity."

* * *

If Willkie's trip around the

world marked a major turning point in his economic perspective, his defense of a foreign-born Communist's right to American citizenship was of equal bearing on his outlook. One cannot consider his defense of William Schneiderman* before the Supreme Court merely as the defense, invaluable as it was, of one man's constitutional rights. What Willkie was defending was the best in bourgeois democracy although he knew that he risked his political future when he undertook the case. It must have been apparent to him that he would be immediately assailed by every unreconstructed tory dominating the Republican's highest councils. But it was by far more important to him to preserve the integrity of American citizenship and thereby preserve the American right of political association, speech and thought, than it was to reach high office by trampling on the dearest concepts held by Lincoln. He gave his services without fee; he lent his accomplishments as a lawyer, and his prestige as a former presidential candidate to right what was an injustice committed by a lower court.

In arguing the Schneiderman case before the Supreme Court, Willkie was in effect saying that his forward-looking economic policies—the policies of an expanding American economy—would be out of joint if they were not paralleled by a philosophy of expanding democracy. He was telling Goebbels, he was telling the whole of Nazidom that not only would American economic might be brought against the forces of terror but the whole moral arsenal of the

American democratic tradition would be used to shatter their quest for enslavement. The fact that he defended the right of Communists to citizenship at a time when the nation was at war proved that he considered the Communists integral to national unity, that he considered their services in forwarding victory an organic part of the contributions of the nation's patriotic forces. His brief on behalf of Schneiderman was a brief on behalf of the equality of Communists in the life of the nation and, in effect, in the life of every bourgeois-democratic state abroad. This broadly was the political symbolism of his participation in the Schneiderman trial and there is no denying that from that point on the Republican reactionary hierarchy wrote a political death writ for him.

* * *

Wendell Willkie's death is a grievous loss to all peoples and especially to his native land. He believed in American leadership and he desired that our country's power be used for the common good and not for private aggrandizement. He came of age politically in a moment of great stress and turmoil and he leaves the nation with a large legacy of democratic faith. One of his distinct virtues was that he could grow and keep pace with the onrush of events. He was also the epitome of those men in the ruling class who do not tremble and become violent before the facts of life, who can accept the inevitable, live with it and contribute in considerable measure towards the making of a freer world.

TOWARD A NATIONAL UPRISING AGAINST FRANCO AND THE FALANGE

BY T. G. ZAMUDIO

"The hour of the Second Front is the hour of the progressive development of a national uprising in Spain." [From the Call of the Supreme Council of National Unity (*Junta Suprema de Union Nacional*), Madrid, June, 1944.]

THE great victories of the anti-Hitler Coalition in Europe are having powerful repercussions in Spain. The recent decisive defeats suffered by the Nazis are unquestionably the main factor in the general aggravation of the already difficult situation of their Spanish cohorts and in the great spur to the fighting spirit and faith of all patriotic anti-fascist people in our country.

The liberation of France by the Anglo-American armed forces and by the French Forces of the Interior undoubtedly constitutes a fatal blow to the Franco regime; Franco's communications with Hitler-Germany have been cut by land and sea; the divisions which Hitler maintained on the other side of the Pyrennees have been withdrawn, and in their place there are today units of French patriots whose hatred for the Vichy accomplice and Nazi lackey cannot be appeased by the be-

lated protestation of friendship for France by the Spanish Quisling.

But, the opening of the Second Front, the liberation of France and the imminent defeat of Hitlerism "are not cause only for rejoicing by the Spanish people. These must also become a call to a death struggle against the survivors of Hitler in Spain: the Falange. With the opening of the Second Front, a new phase has begun, which offers us the greatest opportunities for defeating these cohorts of Hitler and for liberating Spain. Failure to take advantage of this opportunity means the very serious danger of prolonging the Falange tyranny." Thus declared the Supreme Council of National Unity, the guiding organ of the struggle of all anti-Franco forces within Spain, in its last Call in which it stressed the pressing task that lies before our people because of the new military situation in Europe.

"The hour of the Second Front is the hour of the progressive development of a national uprising. . . ."

"We call upon all workers and peasants, the industrialists and merchants, the technical workers and intellectuals, upon all the Spanish peo-

ple, men and women, young and old, rich and poor, of all religious beliefs, of all political tendencies, who feel the martyrdom of Franco-Spain in their blood, to wage an incessant and tenacious struggle; we call upon the worthy officers, whose patriotism must lead them perforce to struggle for Spain, together with all the people; upon the soldiers, whose duty it is to take their place, with their arms and equipment, at the side of the fighting masses; upon the guerrillas ready for combat and for whom the hour for attack has already struck; we call upon everybody to liberate their country, to return Spain to its former state of dignity, to incorporate her into the family of free nations.

"There is no time to lose. Failure to act and delay today constitutes treason. The struggle will be hard, the victory fruitful for the glory of Spain and the well being of the Spanish people.

"At this solemn hour in the life of Spain, we greet in the great spirit of patriotism, the peoples of the United Nations, who are in the forefront of the struggle for the liberation of the world; we greet their great leaders, Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, their glorious armies which are defeating the Nazi hordes.

"Our best greetings will be our own fight against the Nazi plague spread over Spain, against the Falange, puppets of Hitler.

"With our greetings goes our promise to become the worthy comrades-in-arms of those who are today sacrificing their lives for the liberation of humanity from its worst enemy: Hitlerism in all its manifestations."

It is in the light of this brilliant call to arms that we can best evaluate the nature of the battle which

has already begun on Spanish soil and which proclaims the approach of the uprising of the entire nation to crush Franco and the Falange.

* * *

The political event of the greatest importance in the last five years in the history of Spain occurred in September, 1943. The most progressive and democratic forces—Socialists, Republicans, Communists, the U.G.T. and the C.N.T.*—as well as Basque and Catalanian representatives, after previous meetings held in France, met on Spanish soil and arrived at an agreement to constitute themselves as the Supreme Council of National Unity, to lead the organized struggle of the Spanish people for their liberation and the independence of their country.

In taking this decisive step, the Spanish anti-fascists took into consideration, in the first place, the national, patriotic nature of the struggle against Franco and the Falange. The program drawn up in common is not a program representing exclusively the interests of one or another section of the population, but the Spanish nation as a whole. It is a national program for the liberation of the Fatherland, which all forces who understand that Franco

* U.G.T. and C.N.T.—The Union General de Trabajadores (General Union of Labor) and the Confederación General del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labor), the two great trade union central bodies of the Spanish working class, which during the Spanish war of 1936-39 signed a pact for joint action, and which are being reorganized at present in joint groups with joint leadership, and will therefore serve as the basis for the organization of the Single Trade Union Central Labor body, an old aspiration of the Spanish working class.

represents the ruin and death of Spain can support without thereby giving up any of their principles.

In the second place, these political forces, which in themselves represent the vast majority of the Spanish people, took into consideration the fact that only on the basis of the broadest democracy would it be possible to lift their country out of its present condition. For this reason, the program is at the same time an exceedingly democratic one, and it was therefore these democratic forces which took the initiative, which assumed the role of leadership in the struggle for its fulfillment, in the efforts to consolidate the National Unity.

The program of the Supreme Council consists of five points:

To break the ties that bind Spain to the Axis.

To clean out the Falangists from the State apparatus, especially from the Army.

To achieve amnesty; freedom of thought, freedom of the press, freedom of association and assembly, freedom of worship and to practice, privately and publicly, religious beliefs.

To secure bread and work for all the Spanish people, which will guarantee the elementary conditions of life basic to human existence.

To lay the ground for holding as quickly as possible democratic elections for a Constituent Assembly, to which the Government of National Unity will report and which will promulgate a Constitution of Liberty, Independence and Prosperity for Spain.

As soon as the Supreme Council

was constituted, it undertook the task of "establishing contacts on a national scale with the rest of the political forces of opposition in the country and abroad and with the Army, the Navy and the Air Corps, which in our opinion should be represented in the Supreme Council of National Unity" (Manifesto of Constitution, September 4). That is to say, the component forces of the Council should be in accordance with the national character of the objectives and the program of the Supreme Council.

In November, 1943, the President of the Supreme Council signed an agreement with political leaders of the Spanish Catholic movement, which agreement constitutes an important step forward in attaining this goal and signifies the final separation of large sections of conservative Spanish opinion from the Falange. This first agreement culminated in the official inclusion of the Popular Catholic Party (heretofore C.E.D.A.*) and the Catholic Agrarian Unions, in the ranks of the Su-

* The C.E.D.A. (Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas), the Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rights, whose head, Jose Antonio Gil Robles, has been exiled in Portugal since the beginning of the Franco rebellion, was defeated in the elections of February 16, 1936, by the Popular Front. It remained the most important Rightist group until July 18, 1936, when it was displaced from the Spanish political scene by Falange Tradicionalista Española (Traditionalist Spanish Falange) and the Falange youth organization, J.O.N.S., thanks to the help of the German and Italian fascists. Gil Robles was part of the Government during the period known as the "black biennial," when there took place the ferocious repression against the Asturian miners who had risen in October, 1934, because of the sell-out of the Republic by Alejandro Lerroux to the reactionary groups of the Right. Although during the war of 1936-39, Gil Robles showed himself as an enemy of the Republican forces and thereby lent considerable aid to the fascist armies, he never participated directly in the Franco rebellion and has always been considered an enemy by the Falange.

preme Council, a few days after the opening of the Second Front in France.

"The support of the democratic forces of the large Spanish Catholic movement reaffirms the real nature of National Unity of this Supreme Council, and brings into the struggle against the Falange new and powerful forces," stated the Supreme Council in its declaration announcing this important event.

The unity of the most important conservative patriotic group with the democratic working class forces of the country and its acceptance of the program previously drawn up by the latter, constitutes an unprecedented political phenomenon in the recent history of Spain. It can only be compared with what happened during the first War of Independence (1808) against the invading armies of Napoleon and the "Frenchified" Spaniards, when, according to a contemporary historian, "the clergy, nobility, the people, bishops, magnates, generals, soldiers, merchants, farmers, craftsmen, laborers, all united into one strong body, mingled together and merged, vying with one another in patriotism, and all carried along by the same sentiments, working toward the same goal."

In addition to what these Catholic forces in themselves represent, their alliance with the masses of the people will serve to win over other sections, such as the representatives of the armed forces (who, together with the guerrillas, will play an important role in the approaching battles), as well as anti-Franco monarchist groups.

The present agreement is not of a temporary nature. It must be extended into the period of rehabilitation and reconstruction of Spain, as soon as it has reconquered its freedom and independence. In fact, it constitutes the guarantee that all honest citizens will work together to carry out these great tasks for the future.

The principal task of the Supreme Council of National Unity has been the organization and mobilization of the anti-Franco forces. To do this it was necessary that the success obtained on a national scale in the formation of the said Council, be repeated in every region, city, and town in Spain.

The organizational work carried out under terrible conditions of terrorism and at the cost of innumerable sacrifices has produced very positive results. There are today in Spain regional Councils of National Unity in Andalucia and Levante; provincial Councils in almost every part of Spain (Madrid, Asturias, Valencia, Castellon, Toledo, Ciudad Real, Murcia). In Catalonia, the Catalan National Alliance has been formed, which includes all patriotic Catalonians, from Nationalists to Unified Socialists*, and members of the C.N.T. In Galicia there

* The working class of Catalonia, during the first months of the war of 1936-39, established its unity through the building of the Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluffa (Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia), comprising the Socialists, Communists, and other Marxist political groups. The P.S.U.C., which was the Catalan Section of the Communist International, until the dissolution of this body, maintains with the Communist Party of Spain the fraternal ties fitting between two working parties that fight for the same objectives but keeps perfectly outlined the national characteristics of a party of the Catalonia working class, whose struggles it leads.

is a similar organization of the same nature.

These Councils organize and direct acts of protest, resistance, or struggle in their region or locality. Springing from the people themselves, they know how to interpret the concrete demands of the workers and peasants, of the masses of the people, the merchants and industrialists, and imbue them with a real anti-Franco content, which converts the slightest manifestation of discontent into action against the regime. Their initiative, which is so indispensable in the present situation of our country, and their bold policy of national unity, have produced excellent results, as in the case of Navarra, where the provincial Council has reached an agreement with the "Requettes" (Carlist Monarchists) and have participated with them in mass protests against the mobilization of the youth into the Army, although such steps have not yet been taken on a national scale.

The spirit of these fighting men and women can best be appreciated from a letter recently sent from a city on the Mediterranean coast. After reporting the shooting of 22 of the members of the local Council, it states: ". . . but 22 new fighting men have already taken the place of those who have fallen. . . . It is too late to check the just anger of the people by terrorism. . . ."

Under the leadership of the Supreme Council and of its affiliate councils, important mass activities have been carried on: some concrete examples, although a few are already known, are the Commemo-

ration held in the "Parque del Oeste" in Madrid on November 7, 1943, in which 70,000 participated; the storming by the women of Albacete of the Government warehouses during that year; the fight of the vendors in the Gijon market against the authorities of the Supply Board; the miners' strike in Felguera, Asturias, when they demanded and obtained an increase in their family rations; and, more recently, the May First demonstration in Bilbao, and the ten-minute stoppage in the principal factories in the industrial Basque region.

The military victories of the Allies are cause for rejoicing throughout Spain. When they learned of the opening of the Second Front, an immense crowd gathered before the British and American Consulates which furnished the latest news of the landing. In Bilbao the Falangist authorities asked the British Consul to remove a large poster announcing the invasion, which had been placed on the front of the building, since "they feared that disturbances might occur among the population."

The activities organized to express the sympathy of the Spanish people with the United Nations because of the attacks upon them by the Falange are of particular political significance. In Sevilla, 100,000 patriots marched before the British and American Consulates, when the Falangists raided the offices of those Governments in Zaragoza and Valencia. In Valencia, the number of visitors to the library opened by the American Consulate reached from 7,000 to almost 40,000 a week, im-

mediately after the Falangist provocation. When an exchange of war prisoners was made in the port of Barcelona, 5,000 Catalonian patriots gathered to cheer the Americans and British and to jeer at the Nazis.

The Spanish people express their admiration for the Red Army and the Anglo-American armed forces through such activities and similar means; this is how they express their solidarity with and support of the cause of the United Nations, and their protest against the appeasement policy of some of these countries toward a fascist regime and an active ally of Hitler. At the same time they make it clear to such countries that their sole and real allies in Spain are the democratic, anti-Franco forces, that they have not been weakened with depression, but on the contrary, they are politically well alert and ready to fight.

* * *

The Supreme Council is now publishing underground papers which are distributed throughout the country. *Reconquista de Espana* (*Reconquest of Spain*), which began to be published in France more than three years ago, has now become the national organ of the Council. *El Patriota* (*The Patriot*), the voice of the anti-Franco youth, is also increasing in circulation. *Catalunya*, published by the Catalonian National Alliance, which appeared until recently as a multi-graphed sheet, today appears in printed form. Leaflets, manifestoes, calls which the provincial and local

Councils print, utilizing all available means and forms, are being circulated throughout Spain today.

In addition to these underground publications of the National Unity movement, the political parties publish their own press. Among these stands out the newspaper *Mundo Obrero**, supported and protected by the working class; it already has a long underground existence.

The first task of the Council has been and continues to be the strengthening of the guerrilla movement which has always existed in various parts of Spain, to prepare it for performing its role as the armed vanguard of the people. Thanks to the political leadership of the Supreme Council, the guerrillas of Asturias, Galicia and Leon, who heretofore acted on their own, organized in recent months the Federation of Guerrillas of the North, which the guerrillas of Montesa de Santander later joined.

At the same time the Supreme Council has helped the development of the guerrilla movement in the Pyrenees region, in Extremadura and in Andalucia, thus scattering the guerrillas over practically the whole Spanish territory. The slogan of the Supreme Council: "Young Patriots, to the mountains

* *Mundo Obrero* is the press organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain. A few months after the temporary victory of Franco and the Nazis in Spain, the first issues of the illegal *Mundo Obrero* were published under the direction of Antonio Giron, who with groups of Communist leaders, laid the basis of the powerful illegal organization which the C.P.S. has in the interior of the country. Giron was shot after a public and sensational trial, soon after the fall of France, when the falangists thought that fascism was established all over Europe to last many years and dared to extinguish the life of one of the most beloved leaders of the people of Madrid.

with the guerrillas," has already been carried out a thousand-fold, and many more have joined them recently.

The activities which the American press reported during the past weeks (attributing them erroneously to the Spanish "maquis" forces) should by no means be considered as isolated or spontaneous actions.

Their wide scope and coordination indicate, on the contrary, that the Spanish guerrilla movement is developing rapidly toward becoming an army of liberation, under a united command, the High Guerrilla Command, established in September of this year.

In its first communiqué, this High Guerrilla Command said:

"... the guerrilla units are composed of Spanish patriots of every political and religious creed and they fight only the Falange enemy and its Nazi master. Nobody except the Germans and the falangists have anything to fear from the guerrillas. . . . The struggle of the guerrillas against the falangists shall end at the moment when Franco and Falange will have been defeated and the Government of National Union will have delivered to the proper courts of justice all the betrayers of the fatherland. . . . The High Guerrilla Command of the Supreme Council of National Union exhorts every Spaniard to imitate the glorious deeds of their ancestors during the War of Independence, developing initiative in combat, combining their efforts with those of our guerrilla units. . . . The High Guerrilla Command of the Supreme Council of National Union publicly proclaims its gratitude to the Spanish people for the

splendid help they are giving, trusting that this help will evermore be increased, particularly in the sphere of information. . . ."

With the liberation of France, the struggle against Franco has been strengthened by the thousands of Spanish Republican refugees who have been in that country since 1939.

These Spanish patriots, who by their exemplary participation in the battle for the liberation of France have given a magnificent demonstration of anti-Hitler solidarity, have rendered direct and great aid to our people. Although in Nazi-occupied territory, they maintained close contact with the anti-Franco forces inside the country and helped to organize the Supreme Council and the movement of national unity.

That is why the Spanish National Unity, which includes the great majority of Spanish refugees in France and which has more than 500 committees in the cities, regions and units of the F.F.I., can today rightfully be considered as the extension in France of the Spanish underground movement. It has the same program and coordinates its work under one leadership, that of the Supreme Council. Because of this, its aid to our people has been immense and will reach even greater proportions.

To inject a different meaning into its activities, to think that the 30,000 to 50,000 Spanish members of the F.F.I., with or without its aid, are going to "invade" Spain through the Pyrenees to overthrow Franco, would be to fall into the dangerous

reasoning that the Spanish problem will not be solved from within Spain, by the people of Spain themselves, but through outside intervention, that is, of the Spanish refugees either in France, or England, the United States, or the Soviet Union. Furthermore, to suppose any such thing is to underestimate the strength of the armed forces at the disposal of Franco and to forget that to the many Nazi soldiers who have been kept in Spain, there have been added thousands more who arrived from France with all their armed equipment.

The theory of a "solution from without" leads to inaction and gives aid to Franco.

It does not surprise us therefore that Franco himself, backed by the Nazis, has undertaken to spread this theory of "invasion" by the Spanish maquis, exaggerating the clashes between these and the Franco troops, and ignoring at the same time similar incidents in other places in Spain. By such policy, Franco hopes to create the impression that the failure of the "invasion" means the failure of the anti-Franco movement, and to provoke the underground into throwing in all their forces before the time is ripe, which would enable him to crush them and disorganize the struggle of the people.

In playing up the activities carried on from France, the Falange hopes at the same time to complicate the political situation in France, and also to create the impression that if the United States and Great Britain did not heretofore recognize the de Gaulle Government, it was

because of the anti-Franco activities of the Spanish maquis.

Communications recently confirm the provocative nature of the Franco reports on these activities, and state that the Falange is using for this purpose some members of the notorious P.O.U.M.*, who engage in assaulting and plundering in order to create fear and hatred of the patriotic guerrilla forces in those regions.

* * *

The obvious result of the development of the struggle against the Franco regime, as well as the political and military events in the international field, has been an increase in the contradictions in the Franco regime and an intensification of the insoluble crisis from which it is suffering.

The whole Franco apparatus is corrupt. The black market, which the Spanish people call "straperlo," is creating fabulous fortunes for the Falange magnates. To obtain em-

* The P.O.U.M., the Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista, the organization of the Trotskyites in Spain, grew somewhat during the first months of the war of 1936-39, mainly in Catalonia. In May, 1937, it succeeded in drawing some units of the then growing Popular Army and in connivance with leaders of the F.A.I., Federación Anarquista Iberica, and the agents of the fifth column, organized what has become known as the "putsch of May." On the streets of Barcelona appeared tanks and machine-guns, which were missing from the front, and attacked the ruling agencies of the Republic. After this attempt at an attack from within against the Republican forces, the heads of the P.O.U.M. were tried and it was completely proved that they had been conspiring with the falangists and the Hitlerite Germans. They were sentenced to death but the sentence was never put into force, and today some of them, like Gorkin and Victor Serge, are in Mexico, collaborating with Trotskyite and Social-Democratic papers in the U.S.A. The P.O.U.M. lost prestige with the Spanish people completely when the war of 1936-39 came to an end and their leaders, remaining in Spain, became the leaders of the vertical trade unions of the Falange.

ployment, it is necessary to pay from 500 to 1,000 pesetas, as a personal "gift," to the head of the Falangist union. The certificate of good conduct furnished by the Civil Guard and which one needs to be able to travel, to be admitted into a hospital, to obtain a ration card, etc., in addition to costing 2 pesetas, is worthless unless it carries on the inside a 25-peseta bill, which the Falangist chief pockets without any pretense at concealment.

The economic situation in the country is in a complete state of ruin as a result of the Hitler policy followed by Franco, and not because of the war as the Falange would have one believe. The only industries in Spain which have had full production during the five years of the Franco regime are those whose products were being sent to Germany. While most of the textile factories in Catalonia are shut down or working only two days a week, the cotton and raw material arriving in Spain from the Americas are used by two or three large enterprises engaged in the manufacture of blankets and uniforms for the Hitler army. The same is true of the industrial Basque region, in the mines of Asturias and Leon, in the canned fish industry of Galicia. This has resulted in great unemployment, which is aggravating the conditions of starvation, sickness, prostitution and beggary under which the working class in Franco-Spain is today living.

The situation of the merchants is no better. They are weighed down by fines, taxes, obligatory contributions, etc., which force them to close

their businesses; while on the other hand, the Falange hirelings, taking advantage of their official position, mock at all regulations and engage in the black market which yields them enormous profits.

On the farms the situation has reached such a point that even the Falange itself does not dare say they have prosperity, as they say when referring to industry. Here are some figures, furnished by the Falange itself, which illustrates this situation: Compared with the crop of 1935, Spain produced in 1943, 17,000,000 metric quintals* less of wheat, 800,000 metric quintals less of oil; 1,500,000 metric quintals less of rice; 90,000 metric quintals less of lentils; 90,000 metric quintals less of beans, etc. . . . And this, despite the fact that the Supplies Commissions tell the farmers how much and what kind of seed they must plant and when the time arrives, demand delivery of the respective crop. Peasant resistance to these orders has forced Franco to admit that the reduction in farm products in Spain is due to the "social conditions of the farmers."

Now that Franco is isolated by land and sea from Germany and all purchases of strategic materials by England and the United States have been suspended, the economic crisis in Spain has no possible solution while the Falange is in control of the country. It is probable, although we have no concrete information, that the Falange proposes to solve this situation by increasing commerce with the Latin American

* A metric quintal is equivalent to about 230 pounds.

countries, especially with the Argentine, and in this way help to prepare that country and its army for bringing the war to the Western Hemisphere.

The interruption of communications by land and sea between Germany and Spain does not mean that the Nazi control over the political and economic life of our country has ended. In the political field, such control is now less apparent because this is in the interests of both Germany and Franco-Spain. The economic control, on the other hand, is greater than ever. The Nazis, convinced of their approaching defeat, are using Spain as an outlet for their large capital, which they are either investing in Spain itself or transferring to Latin America. At the same time they are using the Franco apparatus to supply the fascist war criminals with false Spanish names and documents, by which means they hope to escape just punishment by the United Nations.

The Falange is therefore resorting to the most bloody terrorism. The shootings and the "paseos" are again on the order of business, as during the first months after the Franco victory. Although Franco states that the number of people in Spanish prisons today is the same as during normal times, in June of this year there were half a million men and women in concentration camps, prisons and forced labor battalions.

Today that number has considerably increased, since the government is throwing into jail again those few fortunate men and wo-

men who under the "Franco Amnesty" were given conditional freedom. In addition, there are wholesale arrests of all those whom the Falange considers "dangerous," even though they may have been previously acquitted by the Falange tribunals.

But despite this renewed and intensified wave of terror, the Falange has not succeeded in breaking the spirit of insubordination, hatred and revulsion throughout the country. The Falangists do not dare appear on the streets in uniform; at night they do not go out alone, and at all times they avoid the working class sections, since the attacks on those known to be guilty of crime and murder occur daily with more frequency.

Franco knows that he cannot depend on the Army, for the soldiers and many of the officers and commanders speak openly against the regime and feel a deep hatred for the Falange. The armed forces on which he relies are those dominated by the Falange, such as the Armed Guards, organized along the lines of the Nazi S.S.; the Civil Guard, the Carabineros and the Moorish troops which are again being brought into Spain. In addition, there is the Blue Division, reorganized in Spain as an army of suppression, as well as the thousands of Nazi well-armed and disciplined soldiers who crossed into Spain when France was liberated.

At the same time, Franco is making desperate efforts to check the disaffection in his ranks. He calls hysterically upon his men to defend his regime against the threat fac-

ing Spain as in the dreadful months of 1936," raising the cry of anti-Communism, which the Spanish people unanimously reject as an instrument of their worst enemies.

In his international policy, Franco is adopting the position which best suits the desperate situation of his Nazi masters: to stay in power even after the total defeat of Hitler, for which he is relying on his friends, the appeasers in Great Britain and the United States, to whom he addresses his false protestations of love for democracy.

There is no doubt that the clear and consistent policy of the Soviet Union, which considers Franco a puppet of Hitler and which cannot forget the crimes committed on Soviet territory by the bandits of the Blue Division is a severe blow to the Franco regime, as is also the defeat of the Republican candidate, Thomas E. Dewey in the presidential elections in the United States. Franco has been able to remain in power chiefly because of the friendly relations which the United States and Great Britain continue to maintain with his regime. As long as this situation prevails, Franco will lend himself to all kinds of cynical maneuvers for making Spain the base for every fascist activity in Europe and America, after the Nazi defeat, even though to do so it may be necessary officially to oust the Falange and restore a monarchy which will retain the political and economic foundations of the Franco regime and continue to hold the Spanish people in bondage.

Now, if Franco still has friends, and powerful friends, he also has

many more powerful enemies. In the first place, the Soviet Union, which through the voice of its ex-Ambassador in the United States, Maxim Litvinoff, declared that it considers itself at war with Franco. The Soviet Union has always shown a warm regard for the Spanish people and sympathy with them in their fight for freedom. The mortal enemies of Franco are also the peoples of Europe who have been liberated from the Nazi yoke: France, whose close and old friendship with Spain has been sealed in the last years with the blood of its sons who fought together; Yugoslavia, whose best fighters first fought on Spanish soil against their common enemies; Italy, the new democratic Italy, where the Spanish people have such staunch friends as Pietro Nenni and Palmiro Togliatti.

The Latin-American republics are on the side of the Spanish people's cause. They look upon the problem of the liberation of Spain as their own national problem, which affects their own democracy and freedom, inasmuch as the Falange has become the Nazi agent in the Americas and lends aid to the fascist groups in those countries, as in the case of Argentina.

The movements of solidarity with the Spanish people in the American republics have taken on great scope and force during the past year and include all sections of public opinion and all social groups, from the Ministers of the Governments and the members of Congress to the whole trade union movement. The Convention of Solidarity held in Mexico a year ago, the Congress in the

House of Culture in Cuba, and the Congress of Solidarity in Chile, the Committee of Senators and Deputies in favor of Republican Spain in Uruguay, the Committee organized in the Congress of Cuba to demand that its Government sever diplomatic relations with Franco, and similar measures taken by all the peoples of Latin America, have placed the problem of the struggle against Franco in the Americas on the order of business.

In England, the activities of the Spanish Republicans are being supported by the great masses and leaders in the Trade Union Council and the Cooperative movement, and members of the House of Commons have come out strongly in defense of the Spanish people, asking the English Government to break off relations with the Franco regime.

The same is true in the United States, where the feeling of friendship for the Spanish people is profound and, where members of Congress, such as Representative Coffee, have come out in support of the Spanish people and the severance of United States relations with Franco; where this friendship is supported by important labor unions, by outstanding individuals in the fields of science and art, as well as a large number of ministers and dignitaries of the Church.

The concern and anxiety for the solution of the problem of Spain is growing in the ranks of the North American trade union movement, especially among those unions which have maintained themselves in the vanguard of the struggle for the liberation of the Spanish people,

notably the National Maritime Union. The active participation both of the C.I.O. as a whole and the A. F. of L. in the campaign for breaking relations with Franco, and their aid to the Spanish democratic forces, should give this momentous struggle breadth and impetus.

* * *

Among the Spanish Republicans in exile, the activities toward giving aid to the Spanish people have increased. Hundreds of Committees for Aid to the Spanish People and Committees of Solidarity exist in every country where there are Republican exiles, with members of all political parties participating.

The urge for unity, the realization that it is essential to establish outside Spain also the complete anti-fascist unity which the present situation in Spain and in the whole world demands, is shared by the great majority of emigrés.

However, it has not yet been possible to bring about an agreement between the various political parties, which would undoubtedly increase the efficacy of the aid to the Spanish people and serve as a means of convincing the world that there is unity among the Spanish people inside Spain and abroad.

The main obstacle to unity among the Spanish political forces abroad arises from the position maintained to date by the Spanish Council of Liberation, organized in Mexico approximately one and a half years ago. Its founder, Indalecio Prieto, dominated by his anti-communist prejudices, tries to ignore the real situation and the real sentiments of

the Spanish people, and directs his main attacks, not against Franco and the Falange, but against the Communists and the Soviet Union, thus giving the greatest aid and comfort to the Falange that it could possibly find among the Republican forces abroad. His conduct is based on utter lack of faith in the Spanish people and in its struggle. This leads him to suggest solutions such as that a plebiscite be held in Spain conducted by the Latin-American countries, and to express opinions far removed from the real facts, such as that "Spain will not become a Republic until there is a Labor Government in England."

There is another group among the exiles which follows the political leadership of Dr. Juan Negrin. Although to date Dr. Negrin has not lent his support to the Supreme Council or expressed his opinion on the problems of Spain, there is the hope among the Republicans abroad that the events themselves will determine a change of attitude and that Dr. Negrin, through his intervention, will help to cement such unity as will correspond to the unity already established inside Spain.

The efforts of those forces which have always remained closest to the Spanish people, especially of the Communist Party of Spain, to bring

about unity, have not ceased even for a day; but undoubtedly the seriousness of the situation demands that such efforts be increased to a maximum at this time.

* * *

The Spanish people have entered the last stage of their fight for liberation, which is taking on the character of a struggle of the broadest masses, including those who, although enemies of the Falange, are not yet taking an active participation in the struggle, and which will culminate in a national uprising and the overthrow of the Falange.

Spain has entered a stage in the struggle which is even more difficult, more demanding of sacrifices than heretofore, in which the Spanish patriots will need the aid and solidarity of all the Republicans abroad, the peoples of the Americas and of Europe.

With the end of this new phase, we can envisage a free, independent and prosperous Spain, which by its victory over the Spanish lackeys of Hitler will have given its contribution of blood to the establishment of a lasting peace as promised by the three great leaders: Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill.

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

The texts of documents and statements thereon, outlining tentative plans for an international organization for the maintenance of world peace and security, as drawn up at the Dumbarton Oaks (Washington) Conferences held from August 21 to September 28 and from September 29 to October 7, 1944.

STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

I WISH to take this opportunity to refer to the work of the Dumbarton Oaks conversations between the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China on the plan for an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

The conversations were completed Saturday, October 7, 1944, and proposals were submitted to the four Governments for their consideration. These proposals have been made public to permit full discussion by the people of this country prior to the convening of a wider conference on this all-important subject.

Although I have not yet been able to make a thorough study of these proposals, my first impression is one of extreme satisfaction, and even surprise, that so much could have been accomplished on so difficult a subject in so short a time. This achievement was largely due to the

long and thorough preparations which were made by the Governments represented and, in our case, were the result of the untiring devotion and care which the Secretary of State had personally given to this work for more than two and a half years—indeed, for many years.

The projected international organization has for its primary purpose the maintenance of international peace and security and the creation of the conditions that make for peace.

We now know the need for such an organization of the peace-loving peoples and the spirit of unity which will be required to maintain it. Aggressors like Hitler and the Japanese war lords organize for years for the day when they can launch their evil strength against weaker nations devoted to their peaceful pursuits.

This time we have been determined first to defeat the enemy, assure that he shall never again be in position to plunge the world into war and then to so organize the peace-loving nations that they may, through unity of desire, unity of will and unity of strength, be in position to assure that no other would-be aggressor or conqueror shall even get started.

That is why, from the very beginning of the war, and paralleling our military plans, we have begun

to lay the foundations for the general organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

It represents, therefore, a major objective for which this war is being fought, and as such it inspires the highest hopes of the millions of fathers and mothers whose sons and daughters are engaged in the terrible struggle and suffering of war.

The projected general organization may be regarded as the keystone of the arch and will include within its framework a number of specialized economic and social agencies now existing or to be established.

The task of planning the great design of security and peace has been well begun. It now remains for the nations to complete the structure in a spirit of constructive purpose and mutual confidence.

STATEMENT OF SECRETARY OF STATE HULL

THE proposals for an international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security, upon which the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China have agreed during the conversations at Dumbarton Oaks, have been submitted to the four Governments and are today being made generally available to the people of this nation and of the world.

All of us have every reason to be immensely gratified by the results achieved at these conversations. To be sure, the proposals in their present form are neither complete nor final. Much work still remains to

be done before a set of completed proposals can be placed before the peace-loving nations of the world as a basis of discussion at a formal conference to draft a charter of the projected organization for submission to the Governments.

But the document which has been prepared by the able representatives of the four participating nations and has been agreed to by them as their recommendation to their respective Governments is sufficiently detailed to indicate the kind of an international organization which, in their judgment, will meet the imperative need of providing for the maintenance of international peace and security.

These proposals are now being studied by the four Governments which were represented at the Washington conversations and which will give their urgent attention to the next steps which will be necessary to reach the goal of achieving the establishment of an effective international organization. These proposals are now available for full study and discussion by the peoples of all countries.

American Part in Parley

We in this country have spent many months in careful planning and wide consultation in preparation for the conversations which have just been concluded. Those who represented the Government of the United States in these discussions were armed with the ideas and with the results of thinking contributed by numerous leaders of our national thought and opinion,

without regard to political or other affiliations.

It is my earnest hope that, during the time which must elapse before the convocation of a full United Nations conference, discussions in the United States on this all-important subject will continue to be carried on in the same non-partisan spirit of devotion to our paramount national interest in peace and security which has characterized our previous consultations.

I am certain that all of us will be constantly mindful of the high responsibility for us and for all peace-loving nations which attaches to this effort to make permanent a victory purchased at so heavy a cost in blood, in tragic suffering and in treasure. We must be constantly mindful of the price which all of us will pay if we fail to measure up to this unprecedented responsibility.

It is, of course, inevitable that when many governments and peoples attempt to agree on a single plan, the result will be in terms of the highest common denominator rather than of the plan of any one nation. The organization to be created must reflect the ideas and hopes of all the peace-loving nations which participate in its creation. The spirit of cooperation must manifest itself in mutual striving to attain the high goal by common agreement.

The road to the establishment of an international organization capable of effectively maintaining international peace and security will be long. At times, it will be difficult. But we cannot hope to at-

tain so great an objective without constant effort and unfailing determination that the sacrifices of this war shall not be in vain.

REPORT BY MR. STETTINIUS

Report to Secretary of State Hull submitted by Under Secretary Stettinius, Chairman of the United States' delegation to the Dumbarton Oaks conference:

I TAKE great pleasure in submitting to you the results of the exploratory conversations on international organization held in Washington between representatives of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China.

The first phase of the conversations, between representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union, took place from Aug. 21 to Sept. 28; the second phase, between representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and China, were held from Sept. 29 to Oct. 7. The results of the work accomplished in both phases are embodied in the attached proposals which each of the four delegations is transmitting to its respective government as the unanimously agreed recommendations of the four delegations.

I am happy to report that the conversations throughout were characterized by a spirit of complete cooperation and great cordiality among all participants, the proof of which is evident in the wide area of agreements covered in

the proposals. The few questions which remain for further consideration, though important, are not in any sense insuperable, and I recommend that the necessary steps for obtaining agreement on these points be taken as soon as possible.

Agreement Sought by All

It is proper to emphasize, at the conclusion of these preliminary conversations, that the proposals as they are now submitted to the four governments comprise substantial contributions from each of the delegations. It is my own view, which I believe is shared by all the participants, that the agreed proposals constitute an advance over the tentative and preliminary proposals presented by each delegation. This has resulted from a single-minded effort of all the delegations at Dumbarton Oaks to reach a common understanding as to the most effective international organization capable of fulfilling the hopes of all peoples everywhere.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my grateful recognition of the contribution to the successful outcome of these conversations made by the members of the American delegation and to commend the advisers and the staff for their most helpful assistance. Above all, I wish to express my profound appreciation to the President and to you, Mr. Secretary, for the constant advice and guidance, without which our work could not have been accomplished with such constructive and satisfactory results.

STATE DEPARTMENT NOTE

The State Department's prefatory note and the statement of tentative proposals for an international security organization:

THE Government of the United States has now received the report of its delegation to the conversations held in Washington between Aug. 21-Oct. 7, 1944, with the delegations of the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of China on the subject of an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

There is annexed hereto a statement of tentative proposals indicating in detail the wide range of subjects on which agreement has been reached at the conversations.

The Governments which were represented in the discussions in Washington have agreed that after further study of these proposals they will as soon as possible take the necessary steps with a view to the preparation of complete proposals which could then serve as a basis of discussion at a full United Nations conference.

Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization

There should be established an international organization under the title of the United Nations, the charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow.

CHAPTER I

Purposes

The purposes of the organization should be:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems; and

4. To afford a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

CHAPTER II

Principles

In pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the organization and its members should act in accordance with the following principles:

1. The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states.

2. All members of the organization undertake, in order to insure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in

the organization, to fulfill the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the charter.

3. All members of the organization shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.

4. All members of the organization shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the organization.

5. All members of the organization shall give every assistance to the organization in any action undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

6. All members of the organization shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the organization.

The organization should insure that states not members of the organization act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER III

Membership

1. Membership of the organization should be open to all peace-loving states.

CHAPTER IV

Principal Organs

1. The organization should have as its principal organs:

- A. A General Assembly;
 - B. A Security Council;
 - C. An International Court of Justice; and
 - D. A Secretariat.
2. The organization should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

CHAPTER V

The General Assembly

Section A—Composition

All members of the organization should be members of the General Assembly and should have a number of representatives to be specified in the charter.

Section B—Functions and Powers

1. The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments; to discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member or members of the organization or by the Security Council; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions. Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion. The General Assembly should not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international

peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council.

2. The General Assembly should be empowered to admit new members to the organization upon recommendation of the Security Council.

3. The General Assembly should, upon recommendation of the Security Council, be empowered to suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member of the organization against which preventive or enforcement action shall have been taken by the Security Council. The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by decision of the Security Council. The General Assembly should be empowered, upon recommendation of the Security Council to expel from the organization any member of the organization which persistently violates the principles contained in the Charter.

4. The General Assembly should elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter IX. It should be empowered to elect, upon recommendation of the Security Council, the secretary-general of the organization. It should perform such functions in relation to the election of the judges of the International Court of Justice as may be conferred upon it by the statute of the court.

5. The General Assembly should apportion the expenses among the members of the organization and should be empowered to approve

the budgets of the organization.

6. The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare.

7. The General Assembly should make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies of international economic, social and other specialized agencies brought into relation with the organization in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the organization.

8. The General Assembly should receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council and reports from other bodies of the organization.

Section C—Voting

1. Each member of the organization should have one vote in the General Assembly.

2. Important decisions of the General Assembly, including recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security; election of members of the Security Council; election of members of the Economic and Social Council; admission of members, suspension of the exercise of the rights and privileges of members, and expulsion of members; and budgetary questions should be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. On other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, the decisions of the General

Assembly should be made by a simple majority vote.

Section D—Procedure

1. The General Assembly should meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require.

2. The General Assembly should adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its president for each session.

3. The General Assembly should be empowered to set up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.

CHAPTER VI

The Security Council

Section A—Composition

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of eleven members of the organization. Representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China and, in due course, France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect six States to fill the non-permanent seats. These six States should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms.

Section B—Principal Functions and Powers

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the organization, members of the organization should by the Charter confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and should agree that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council should act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the organization.

3. The specific powers conferred on the Security Council in order to carry out these duties are laid down in Chapter VIII.

4. All members of the organization should obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the Security Council and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

5. In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, the Security Council, with the assistance of the military staff committee referred to in Chapter VIII, Section B, Paragraph 9, should have the responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments for submission to the members of the organization.

Section C—Voting

Note: The question of voting pro-

cedure in the Security Council is still under consideration.

Section D—Procedure

1. The Security Council should be so organized as to be able to function continuously and each State member of the Security Council should be permanently represented at the headquarters of the organization. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgment may best facilitate its work. There should be periodic meetings at which each State member of the Security Council could if it so desired be represented by a member of the government or some other special representative.

2. The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions including regional sub-committees of the military staff committee.

3. The Security Council should adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its president.

4. Any member of the organization should participate in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the Security Council considers that the interests of that member of the organization are specially affected.

5. Any member of the organization not having a seat on the Security Council and any State not a member of the organization, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, should be invited to participate in

the discussion relating to the dispute.

CHAPTER VII

An International Court of Justice

1. There should be an International Court of Justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the organization.

2. The Court should be constituted and should function in accordance with a statute which should be annexed to and be a part of the charter of the organization.

3. The statute of the Court of International Justice should be either (a) the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable or (b) a new statute in the preparation of which the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be used as a basis.

4. All members of the organization should *ipso facto* be parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice.

5. Conditions under which States not members of the organization may become parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice should be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

CHAPTER VIII

Arrangements for the Maintenance of International Peace and Security, Including Prevention and Suppression of Aggression

Section A—Pacific Settlement of Disputes

1. The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. Any State, whether member of the organization or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.

3. The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

4. If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Paragraph 3 above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council. The Security Council should, in each case, decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and, accordingly, whether it should take action under Paragraph 5.

5. The Security Council should be empowered, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to

in Paragraph 3 above, to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

6. Justiciable disputes should formally be referred to the International Court of Justice. The Security Council should be empowered to refer to the Court, for advice, legal questions connected with other disputes.

7. The provisions of Paragraph 1 to 6 of Section A should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned.

Section B — Determination of Threats to the Peace or Acts of Aggression and Action With Respect Thereto

1. Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with procedures indicated in Paragraph 3 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under Paragraph 5 of Section A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the organization.

2. In general the Security Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.

3. The Security Council should

be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic, or other measures not involving the use of armed force should be employed to give effect to its decisions, and to call upon members of the organization to apply such measures. Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.

4. Should the Security Council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air, naval or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the organization.

5. In order that all members of the organization should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible and should in each case be subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification by

the signatory States in accordance with their constitutional processes.

6. In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the organization there should be held immediately available by the members of the organization national air force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Paragraph 5 above.

7. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security should be taken by all the members of the organization in cooperation or by some of them as the Security Council may determine. This undertaking should be carried out by the members of the organization by their own action and through action of the appropriate specialized organizations and agencies of which they are members.

8. Plans for the application of armed force should be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Paragraph 9 below.

9. There should be established a Military Staff Committee the functions of which should be to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international

peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments, and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the organization not permanently represented on the committee should be invited by the committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the committee's responsibilities requires that such a State should participate in its work. Questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently.

10. The members of the organization should join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

11. Any State, whether a member of the organization or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of measures which have been decided upon by the Security Council should have the right to consult the Security Council in regard to a solution of those problems.

Section C—Regional Arrangements

1. Nothing in the Chapter should preclude this existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international

peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the organization. The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies, either on the initiative of the States concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

2. The Security Council should, where appropriate, utilize such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority, but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council.

3. The Security Council should at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER IX

Arrangements for International Economic and Social Cooperation

Section A—Purpose and Relationships

1. With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and pro-

mote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in an Economic and Social Council.

2. The various specialized economic, social and other organizations and agencies would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes. Each such organization or agency should be brought into relationship with the organization on terms to be determined by agreement between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate authorities of the specialized organization or agency, subject to approval by the General Assembly.

Section B—Composition and Voting

The Economic and Social Council should consist of representatives of eighteen members of the organization. The States to be represented for this purpose should be elected by the General Assembly for terms of three years. Each such State should have one representative, who should have one vote. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council should be taken by simple majority vote of those present and voting.

Section C—Functions and Powers of the Economic and Social Council

1. The Economic and Social Council should be empowered:

a. To carry out, within the scope

of its functions, recommendations of the General Assembly;

b. To make recommendations, on its own initiative, with respect to international economic, social and other humanitarian matters;

c. To receive and consider reports from the economic, social and other organizations or agencies brought into relationship with the organization, and to coordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organizations or agencies;

d. To examine the administrative budgets of such specialized organizations or agencies with a view to making recommendations to the organizations or agencies concerned;

e. To enable the Secretary-General to provide information to the Security Council;

f. To assist the Security Council upon its request; and

g. To perform such other functions within the general scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

Section D—Organization and Procedure

1. The Economic and Social Council should set up an economic commission, a social commission, and such other commissions as may be required. These commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the secretariat of the organization.

2. The Economic and Social Council should make suitable arrangements for representatives of the specialized organizations or agen-

cies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it.

3. The Economic and Social Council should adopt its own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its president.

CHAPTER X

The Secretariat

1. There should be a secretariat comprising a secretary-general and such a staff as may be required. The secretary-general should be the chief administrative officer of the organization. He should be elected by the General Assembly, on recommendation of the Security Council, for such term and under such conditions as are specified in the Charter.

2. The secretary-general should act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, and of the Economic and Social Council and should make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the organization.

3. The secretary-general should have the right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.

CHAPTER XI

Amendments

Amendments should come into force for all members of the organization when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of

the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional process by the members of the organization having permanent membership on the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the organization.

CHAPTER XII

Transitional Arrangements

1. Pending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Chapter VIII, Section B, Paragraph 5, and in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph 5 of the four-nation declaration signed at Moscow Oct. 30,

1943, the States parties to that declaration should consult with one another, and as occasion arises with other members of the organization, with a view to such joint action on behalf of the organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. No provision of the Charter should preclude action taken or authorized in relation to enemy States as a result of the present war by the governments having responsibility for such action.

Note: In addition to the question of voting procedure in the Security Council referred to in Chapter VI, several other questions are still under consideration.

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REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND
MARCH 3, 1933, OF THE COMMUNIST**, published monthly at New York,
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County of New York) ss.

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